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# *Annals of Wyoming*

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## COVER

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CODY ROAD TO YELLOWSTONE, 1903. The cover photograph was taken by J. E. Stimson in 1903 and is titled "Lichen Pass on Cody Road to Yellowstone Park, Wyo." Although Lichen Pass does not appear on most maps it apparently was located just inside the Park boundary. Stimson catalogued the Lichen Pass photograph just in front of a picture of Middle Creek Canyon and just after a panoramic shot of Sylvan Pass.

# *The Small Museum and the Interpretation of Wyoming History*

By

GEOFFREY R. HUNT

## INTRODUCTION

The small history museum is a common phenomenon in the United States. T. R. Adams observed in 1939 that "the passion for relics is a deep-grained habit of the popular mind."<sup>1</sup> Local museums of art, science, or natural history are often the work of a few enthusiasts who establish their museum in the face of public apathy. On the other hand, almost everybody seems to be interested in museums of history. Perhaps this circumstance explains the great number of historical museums, and the relatively small list of local museums of natural history, art, and science.

Although there are small history museums in all parts of the United States, those in the more sparsely populated states of the West have a unique role. Due to the low population, the small museums of what have been called the "hinterlands"<sup>2</sup> must fill a vacuum, a void in which, generally, no other institutions concern themselves with local history. College and university scholars deal with history on a national, regional, or state level, only rarely on the local level. This is probably as it should be. Historical society chapters are often concerned with local history, but the results of their research seldom spread beyond the confines of the chapter membership. And, unlike more populous states, the potential audience in the Rocky Mountain West is too small for most publishers to risk printing works dealing with purely local history. This lack of printed material retards public education's efforts to deal with local history; as a consequence, citizens seldom receive any grounding in their immediate heritage.

One must concede that the hinterlands are served by medium

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<sup>1</sup>T. R. Adam, *The Museum and Popular Culture* (New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1939), p. 136.

<sup>2</sup>K. Ross Toole, "The Impact of the Museum in the Hinterlands," *Curator*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1958, p. 36.

and large museums of history, as well as by small museums. Unfortunately, the utility of these larger museums in interpreting local history is limited, due to the broad range of subject matter they must cover.

Larger museums, such as state organizations or a museum complex, have a tremendous responsibility not just to the community where the museum is located but to the whole state. The community museum can or should focus on something about the community.<sup>3</sup>

If one accepts the premise that, at least in the less populous western states, the small museum is probably the only institution likely to be involved in the study and dissemination of information concerning local history, then the small museum's effectiveness in fulfilling that role is a matter of great importance. Remarkably, there have been few detailed studies of this effectiveness.

The only examination to date of Wyoming's small museums is Richard Leslie Bunning's master's thesis, *A Study of the Role of Wyoming Community Museums in Continuing Education*, completed in 1970.<sup>4</sup> While this study is valuable, it is confined to a purely quantitative investigation of museum adult education programs. Bunning further narrowed his scope by limiting his study to community operated museums. There has never been an intensive examination of the role Wyoming's small museums play in the interpretation of local history.

Given the unique relationship between small historical museums and western local history, a thorough examination of the small museums in a thinly peopled western state, Wyoming, is particularly important. Small museums must recognize their full potential as interpretive agents of local history, before that potential can be achieved. The role of Wyoming museums doubtless has much in common with the role of all such museums in the West, and to a lesser degree, with the rest of the United States. While a study of Wyoming museums is limited in scope, it should prove beneficial for small museums elsewhere in the hinterlands.

The question of the extent to which Wyoming's small museums have fulfilled their interpretive potential cannot be answered without comparison to some accepted standard of museum practice. The nature of the "ideal" small museum is a matter of some debate. This study, "The Small History Museum in General," presents a consensus of the thoughts of leading museologists, noting significant dissenting opinions.

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<sup>3</sup>Robert J. McQuerie, *et al.*, "The Small Museum: Some Reflections," *Museum News*, March, 1971, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup>Richard Leslie Bunning, "A Study of the Role of Wyoming Community Museums in Continuing Education" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Wyoming, 1970).

In order to approach some comprehension of how Wyoming's small museums are interpreting local history, an official of each of thirty-seven museums has been interviewed.<sup>5</sup> The officials were asked to answer questions pertinent to the philosophies, financing, operations, and activities of their museums.<sup>6</sup> In most cases, information on the nature of each museum's exhibits was obtained by direct observation. "The Small History Museum in Wyoming" presents the results of the observation and interviews, providing a reasonably complete understanding of the current state of the small museums in Wyoming.

Having established the character of the model small museum of history, and determined the current interpretive role of Wyoming's small museums, a comparison of the two and analysis of any discrepancies remains. "The Potential of Wyoming's Small Museums" discusses some common problems and possible solutions, examines neglected resources, and concludes with a consideration of the future role of these small history museums.

At the beginning of the study, a determination of which institutions in the state to include and which to exclude was necessary. Museums dedicated entirely to art or science were eliminated immediately; however, museums devoted to history as well as other subjects were included as museums of history. Defining history broadly as the record of human existence, museums of anthropology were considered historical. An even more difficult problem remained: what constitutes a museum? Is the display of memorabilia in the motel lobby a museum? If not, what *is* a museum?

The International Council on Museums (ICOM) defines as a museum any "establishment in which objects are the main means of communication."<sup>7</sup> This definition has the advantage of simplicity; unfortunately, both museums and grocery stores meet these qualifications. The museum accreditation standards of the American Association of Museums (AAM) are more specific as to what constitutes a museum. To meet the necessary conditions, a museum must be "an organized and permanent non-profit institution, essentially educational or aesthetic in purpose, with professional staff, which owns and utilizes tangible objects, cares for them and exhibits them to the public on some regular schedule."<sup>8</sup> The AAM's definition is more restrictive than ICOM's; while many feel it is too restrictive, it serves as a starting point.

Each provision of the definition, however, must be evaluated

<sup>5</sup>Appendix A contains an interview schedule and list of museums.

<sup>6</sup>Appendix B contains a sample of the questionnaire form used.

<sup>7</sup>Alma Stephanie Wittlin, *Museums: In Search of a Usable Future* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1970), p. 203.

<sup>8</sup>Helmuth J. Naumer, "A Marketable Product," *Museum News*, October, 1971, p. 14.

before it can be accepted. Limiting museums to non-profit institutions seems quite narrow. Robert C. Wheeler has observed that an institution can be a museum, and a good one, even if it is a private, profit-oriented operation.<sup>9</sup> He also notes the converse, that any institution can be a "tourist-trap," be it private or tax-supported, profit-oriented or non-profit. Therefore, private, profit-oriented museums have been studied.

The AAM definition continues with "essentially educational or aesthetic in purpose." Museologists are in unanimous agreement on this point. The next requirement, however, that of "professional staff," is much more illiberal than need be. Many local museums simply could not operate if they were forced to bear the expense of a salary. Volunteers often render excellent service to Wyoming's small museums, and many fine museums are operated entirely by volunteers. Accordingly, the existence of paid staff members is not a consideration in the determination of which institutions to study.

The provision that museums "own and utilize tangible objects" is a natural one, one shared with the ICOM definition. While this phrase also includes grocery stores, it at least excludes institutions such as libraries, which, although they may have goals similar to those of museums, possess no artifacts. Criticism of this emphasis on objects comes from a distinguished museum professional, Wilcomb Washburn, who questions "whether, in the future, the museum object will not be converted into information that is as satisfactory for human purposes as the object itself."<sup>10</sup> He proposes the preservation of photographs and of careful descriptions of artifacts, and the elimination of collections of objects.

Washburn, however, has missed the point that no matter how many photographs are taken, and no matter how complete the descriptions are, such data is at best only a poor substitute for the actual artifact. In the same sense, "Girls are more interesting than descriptions of girls."<sup>11</sup> Alma S. Wittlin notes an advantage of artifacts over printed material when she observes "it is the three-dimensional reality and the authenticity of objects that matter, and the stimulation they offer to eye and hand."<sup>12</sup> An institution must possess artifacts in order to be defined herein as a museum.

The provision in the AAM definition requiring a museum to exhibit its collections to the public seems obvious, and yet the

<sup>9</sup>Robert C. Wheeler, "Museums or Tourist Traps?," *Museum News*, April, 1962, pp. 12-13.

<sup>10</sup>Wilcomb Washburn, "Are Museums Necessary?," *Museum News*, October, 1968, pp. 9-10.

<sup>11</sup>Michael W. Robbins, ed., *America's Museums: The Belmont Report* (n.p.: American Association of Museums, 1969), p. 10.

<sup>12</sup>Wittlin, *Museums: In Search of a Usable Future*, p. 205.

concept behind that provision has been the source of much controversy. Washburn suggests that some museums are justified in making their collections available solely to their staff and to visiting scholars for research, and then publishing the results of that research.<sup>13</sup> Edwin H. Colbert carries the argument one step farther when he asserts *the primary interpretive function of a museum is research, and any museum can fulfill its responsibilities to the public simply by publishing an account of that research.*<sup>14</sup> Neither writer is totally opposed to exhibition programs, but each maintains that a museum can exist as a viable institution and never exhibit a single artifact.

Before adopting this opinion one must consider that Washburn not only accepts a museum without exhibits, but also a museum without artifacts. Museums are distinguished from other institutions with similar objectives by the possession of artifacts. It is logical that this peculiar condition be incorporated into the museum's communication with the public. Wittlin feels that one special benefit of museums is their ability to offer "a relief from overloads of symbolic communication."<sup>15</sup> A museum which publishes but does not exhibit only adds to that overload. Perhaps the best analysis of this question is offered by Carl Guthe, the foremost modern museologist specializing in the small museum:

The only reason for preserving collections is to use them as a means of bringing pleasure and knowledge to as many people as possible. To do this they must be publicly exhibited and interpreted.<sup>16</sup>

No institution without an exhibit program will be considered herein as a museum.

The last of the AAM requirements, "on some regular schedule," is useful to distinguish between a museum and a private collection, especially since the private collection is the hobby of the collector, while the museum presumably attempts to serve the public.

Thus, to be defined as a museum for study purposes, an institution can be private and profit-oriented, as well as non-profit, but must be "essentially educational or aesthetic in purpose." Furthermore, an institution must possess three-dimensional artifacts and exhibit them to the public on some regular basis. Obviously this definition still leaves a great deal of room for arbitrary decisions, both in the evaluation of the arguments by which it is deter-

<sup>13</sup>Wilcomb Washburn, "Scholarship and the Museum," *Museum News*, October, 1961, p. 18.

<sup>14</sup>Edwin H. Colbert, "What Is a Museum?," *Curator*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1961, p. 142.

<sup>15</sup>Wittlin, *Museums: In Search of a Usable Future*, p. 205.

<sup>16</sup>Carl E. Guthe, *The Management of Small History Museums* (hereinafter referred to as *Small History Museums*) (Nashville, Tennessee: American Association for State and Local History, 1969), p. 76.

mined, and in the application of its provisions to the various museums. Although the definition serves as a guide, the final decision on whether or not to include an institution is a subjective one.

Having defined "museum," the "small museum" still needs identification. Others have classified small museums in a number of ways: by annual budget, by staff size, by number of items in the collections, by attendance, or by total exhibit area. Each of these methods is somewhat arbitrary, in that the limits for small, medium, and large are set subjectively in each category. Just as arbitrarily, the "small museum" herein has been distinguished by governing authority; all museums in Wyoming operated by either the state or federal governments have been removed from consideration, all others are "small museums." This decision has been made because of the feeling that state and federal museums are intended to interpret history on a state, regional, or national basis, rather than a local one.

The federal museums of history so excluded are Fort Laramie, the Fur Trade Museum at Moose, the Indian Art Museum at Colter Bay, and the general museums in Yellowstone Park. The Warren Military Museum at Cheyenne and the Armory Museum at Sheridan have been retained even though affiliated with the military forces of the national government, largely because the museums are not directly administered by the federal government.

The museums of the Wyoming State Museum system (Fort Bridger, Fort Fetterman, the Guernsey State Museum at Guernsey, South Pass City State Historical Site Museum, and the Wyoming State Museum in Cheyenne) have not been included. Also left out are the historical museums operated by departments of the University of Wyoming: The University of Wyoming Anthropological Museum and the Western History Research Center. Upon investigation, it was discovered that the Clarice Russell Museum at Thermopolis is funded and operated by the Wyoming Pioneer Home, a department of state government. Therefore, this museum has not been considered. Located on state land and funded by a state agency (although separate from the state museum system), the Wyoming Pioneer Memorial Museum at Douglas has also been excluded. All other museums of history located in Wyoming have been classified as "small." This results in some incongruities; the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, possibly Wyoming's only "large" museum if judged in terms of budget, staff, or exhibit area, is included as a "small museum." Despite such difficulties, all Wyoming museums not administered by the state or federal governments are classed as small, in order to provide some measure of objectivity.

An honest attempt has been made to personally contact each Wyoming museum meeting the conditions established. The basic

reference is the "Guide to Wyoming Museums" contained in the *Educational Materials Catalog*, a mimeographed publication of the Wyoming State Museum. Compiled in July of 1973, this publication is now obsolete, new museums having been established since that date. (A 1978 revision is now available from the Wyoming State Museum. Ed.) Therefore, whenever a museum not in the *Catalog* has been heard of, either through newspaper accounts or conversation, it has been contacted for possible study. Any omissions are sincerely regretted.

### THE SMALL HISTORY MUSEUM IN GENERAL

Just as the story told by any museum is unique, so too, each museum is unique. All things are never exactly the same in two different museums. This diversity is stimulating and desirable; total conformity would be wearisome. Diversity, however, does not preclude common principles and practices.

The fund of practical information upon which any museum may draw has been derived from the experience of museums, large and small—of museums devoted to each branch of the field. Certain principles are the same for all. Differences in scale of activity are accompanied naturally by gradations in elaborateness of method, and differences in subject matter are responsible necessarily for variety of method, but the same broad fundamentals underlie the work of all effective museums.<sup>17</sup>

Museologists readily agree that "certain principles are the same for all." They often disagree over just which principles are universal truths, and which are merely matters of preference. Museology is not a static field, moreover, and museum theory is steadily evolving. Still, a perusal of professional journals and published manuals provides a consensus of museological thought, with only a few instances of divided opinion.

A museum's first considerations lie in the area of general philosophy. A museum needs to establish a theme before it can pursue any coherent course. It is important that this theme reflect the capabilities of the museum, and that its scope be defined in a way the museum can adequately interpret. Most small museums possess limited resources, and so must restrict their theme somewhat.

The first limitation necessary is one of general field. It is best for the small history museum to confine itself to history and not try to deal with the fine arts or natural history.<sup>18</sup> Such materials,

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<sup>17</sup>Laurence Vail Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927), p. 4.

<sup>18</sup>Carl E. Guthe, *So You Want a Good Museum: A Guide to the Management of Small Museums* (Hereinafter referred to as *So You Want A Good Museum*) (n.p.: American Association of Museums, 1967), p. 1.

when pertinent to some historical topic, can be utilized in an interdisciplinary approach, but their inclusion should be strictly peripheral. Trying to cover more than one field generally means that no field receives proper treatment.

Having settled on the general field of history, it is desirable to establish a geographic restriction of the theme as well. The small museum cannot hope to adequately interpret the broad range of subject matter handled by state and federal museums, just as the larger museums cannot hope to do justice to local history. "We must limit our scope and we must cover our *local* story first."<sup>19</sup>

Museologists disagree over the nature of the "proper" audience the small museum should attempt to serve. Many feel that the small museum's primary responsibility is to the visitor unfamiliar with the area, the tourist. The museum can bring the cultural essence of an area together in a neat package for the convenience of the visitor, who can thereby gain some idea of the local heritage in even a short visit to a community.<sup>20</sup> In the West, concentration on the tourist is often necessary for a more mundane reason than that of service. The economy of many a western town is heavily reliant upon the tourist dollar, and hinterland museums often find that civic support is directly related to museum success in attracting visitors to town.<sup>21</sup>

There are highly vocal opponents of this emphasis on the tourist. Robert M. McQuarie urges that a community museum be community oriented, for it is the people of the community who support the museum, either through donations or public appropriations.<sup>22</sup> And surely the native is in as much need of an understanding of the local heritage as the casual tourist from out of town.

Since museums may often be the only institutions interpreting western local history, it is doubly important that they serve the local populace. The point has been made that school children are most in need of attention, so they might be provided a cultural background upon which to build their lives. K. Ross Toole had observed that in many instances, ". . . museum school programs such as lectures, slide shows, special tours, publications, and travelling exhibits are not merely facets of a general education program designed to acquaint students with their heritage. They *are* the program."<sup>23</sup>

Toole's emphasis on the need for museum work with children is

<sup>19</sup>Arminta Neal, "Function of Display: Regional Museums," *Curator*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1965, p. 228.

<sup>20</sup>Somerset R. Waters, "Museums and Tourism," *Museum News*, January, 1966, p. 32.

<sup>21</sup>Toole, "Museum in the Hinterlands," p. 38.

<sup>22</sup>McQuarie, "The Small Museum," p. 17.

<sup>23</sup>Toole, "Museum in the Hinterlands," p. 38.

shared by many, as evidenced by the large number of museums engaged in school service. This stress on the child has been attacked, however. As long ago as 1942, Theodore Low complained that adults should receive the main thrust of the museum's educational efforts. Elementary schools serve children, high schools and colleges serve adolescents, and universities serve scholars. Low felt that the adult was neglected, and so concluded "there is no doubt that the museum must concentrate its attention on the adult public."<sup>24</sup> The National Endowment for the Humanities echoes this sentiment today when it states "the public has need of and use for knowledge in the humanities. Museums are clearly of prime importance in providing such knowledge, especially to the adult 'out-of-school' public."<sup>25</sup>

In the face of these conflicting priorities as to what audience to serve, perhaps all that can be said is that there are valid and indeed, pressing, reasons for museums to serve each segment of the visiting public. It may be a museum should try to appeal to all equally, or concentrate on different groups at different seasons, e.g. the tourist in summer and the school child during the school term. In the end, each museum will have to reach its own accommodation with the difficult question of what audience to serve.

After the small museum determines its audience, it must decide how best to fill the needs of the public. Virtually all museologists concur with Laurence Vail Coleman's assessment of the two-fold assignment of the museum: "The ultimate purpose of museums is to raise the general level of refinement by giving pleasure and imparting knowledge."<sup>26</sup> Within this dual mission of education and recreation lie four functions, or operations, identified in the Belmont Report (a 1969 analysis of American museums) as "collecting, preserving, exhibiting and interpreting the natural and cultural objects of our environment."<sup>27</sup>

Each of these four functions is a distinct series of procedures and requirements, yet each depends on the others in a sort of *gestalt*. "The responsibilities inherent in the performance of each of these . . . functions differ considerably. Yet they are, so to speak, the two faces of a single coin."<sup>28</sup> Before examining the operation of any one of these functions, it is necessary to understand their interrelation.

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<sup>24</sup>Theodore L. Low, *The Museum as a Social Instrument* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art for the American Association of Museums, 1942), p. 36.

<sup>25</sup>NEH *Museums and Historical Societies Program* (Washington, D. C.: mimeographed announcement of the National Endowment for the Humanities, May, 1974), p. 1.

<sup>26</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 10.

<sup>27</sup>Robbins, *America's Museums: The Belmont Report*, p. 1.

<sup>28</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 51.

Partly because of this inter-dependence, the collection function clearly comes first, for without collections none of the other functions can even exist. "The primary obligation of a museum is to assemble and preserve its collections."<sup>29</sup>

Once artifacts have been collected, great attention must be given to their continued well-being. "The collections are the core of the museum's life . . . Their proper maintenance should take precedence over all other museum work."<sup>30</sup> The museum has gained nothing if it gathers artifacts in the hope of preserving them from loss, and then allows the items to deteriorate through neglect. Furthermore, museums collect not only for the present, but for the future as well. "The first obligation of a museum is to recognize and assume the responsibilities inherent in the possession of its collections, which are held in trust for the benefit of the present and future citizens of the community."<sup>31</sup>

The average citizen, when he thinks of museums at all, thinks of exhibits. While the functions of collection and preservation are clearly the foundation upon which exhibition and interpretation build, "a museum is judged by its exhibits."<sup>32</sup> Indeed, when visitors *do* discover the existence of study collections not on exhibit, they often react with resentment. Herein lies one of the great difficulties of museum administration. Collection and preservation require money, which usually depends on public support. Public support rests on the manifestations of the interpretive function, and yet no interpretation is possible without sound collections. Perhaps this accounts for the many museums that blindly exhibit each artifact they acquire, without consideration for preservation or interpretation.

One must remember, however, that interpretation is the museum's *raison d'être*. Arthur Parker cautioned in 1935 "the real reason for the museum of history must come first; the useful application of the tools of the museum must transcend the mere conservation of the tools themselves."<sup>33</sup> Since museums are distinguished from other historical institutions by their possession of artifacts, it follows that in large part the burden of museum interpretation must be carried by exhibition of those artifacts. Mere displays are not sufficient, however; the exhibits must be didactic in purpose if they are to serve any useful function. "Objects of history stimulate

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>30</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 45.

<sup>31</sup>Guthe, *So You Want a Good Museum*, p. t.

<sup>32</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 68.

<sup>33</sup>Arthur C. Parker, *A Manual for History Museums* (Albany, New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), p. 7.

the imagination and, if intelligibly presented, they enable one to reconstruct the past."<sup>34</sup>

The simple display of disparate relics in a "visible storage" format does not materially further the comprehension of history.

There is no honest virtue in merely preserving things. To institutionalize visible storage does not contribute to life's values to any degree . . . It is well to remember, *preservation* should not be an end in itself. It should be only the means to an end.<sup>35</sup>

That end is interpretation.

Research is seen by some as a separate, fifth museum function. Actually, research is an inherent part of each of the four other functions. Research indicates what items to collect; research also determines authenticity. Research is a part of preservation as well, both to obtain the history of the artifact, and in the study of proper conservation techniques. Above all, research is vital in the museum's program of exhibition and interpretation. "To the extent that we are no longer merely showing our specimens but are also attempting to tell things with them and about them, it is not only appropriate but may be necessary for us to conduct research upon all the things that can be told of and by the items we display."<sup>36</sup>

The AAM's Belmont Report is especially emphatic on this subject.

Obviously, the historic object must be authentic. This calls for research. Less obviously, but equally important, to interpret the object for the visitor requires that someone with the right qualifications has investigated both the object and the role it played in history, and has done some thinking about its significance for the present as well as the past.<sup>37</sup>

Thus, research cannot be separated from the four basic operations of museums.

The first of the four operations, collection, is often carried on without much consideration, the museum gratefully accepting whatever is proffered. Any museum has a limited capacity, however, and Carl Guthe warns:

A community museum must not become a community attic, full of discarded junk . . . Another error stems from the desire to attract visitors through their interest in strange, unusual or grotesque things—the river pebble shaped like a foot, the model church built of burnt match-sticks, the piece of marble chipped from an ancient Greek temple, the two-headed calf, the ashes from a cigar smoked by Teddy Roosevelt, the tree trunk with a cannon ball embedded in it.

<sup>34</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 132.

<sup>35</sup>Parker, *A Manual for History Museums*, p. 13.

<sup>36</sup>Albert Eide Parr, "The Function of Museums: Research Centers or Show Places," *Curator*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1963, p. 24.

<sup>37</sup>Robbins, *America's Museums: The Belmont Report*, p. 7.

the crocheted American flag. None of these are truly typical, documented objects, nor do they have intrinsic aesthetic, historic or scientific value. They belong in amusement arcades or in fair midways, certainly not in museums.<sup>38</sup>

Just as a museum must define the scope of its overall endeavors, it must similarly define the scope of its collections. "That a museum determine the limits of its collections, that it establish a policy of acquisition, and that it hold to this policy through thick and thin are of supreme importance."<sup>39</sup> When limiting its collections, it is reasonable for a museum to follow the same criteria used in determining the museum's scope: geographic area and general field. To these may be added a time consideration; how old must an artifact be before it is "historic"? "The . . . wisest course of action is to make the uncompromising decision that the scope of the collections shall be limited to materials directly related to the museum's objectives."<sup>40</sup>

Having established a collections policy, the museum must actively seek out artifacts which fit within that policy. This can be done through individual contacts or by the less personal means of asking for needed items through the local public media. Merely waiting for the public to come forth with artifacts is not generally successful. "The passive attitude of accepting gratefully appropriate additions to the collections as and when they are offered will, in most instances, increase the number of articles illustrating periods and customs already well represented and, at the same time, will make more conspicuous the gaps created by the absence of articles with other associations."<sup>41</sup>

There are three basic means by which a museum may obtain the artifacts needed for its interpretive program: from outright donations, by purchase or exchange, or through loans. Virtually all museums of history rely upon donations for the bulk of their collections. Funds are seldom available for purchase of needed items. Purchase should generally be avoided, not only in consideration of funding, but because a museum with a reputation for purchasing will find artifact donations drying up.<sup>42</sup> Purchase is often a means of filling gaps in the collections, however, and sometimes a benefactor can be found who will donate the needed money. Many museums restrict their purchases to an area outside that from which they draw their artifact donations.

Collections exchange with other museums is widely practiced, although museums known for "trading off" donated items may

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<sup>38</sup>Guthe, *So You Want a Good Museum*, p. 2.

<sup>39</sup>Colbert, "What Is a Museum," p. 140.

<sup>40</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 25.

<sup>41</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 32.

<sup>42</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 122.

alienate past and prospective donors. One museum's duplicates could be another museum's treasures. Also, it occasionally happens that a museum comes into possession of an artifact only marginally pertinent to its theme, but of central importance to the interpretive efforts of another museum. Exchanges of artifacts may be indicated in such instances.

Many small museums accept indefinite or "permanent loans" of artifacts, usually in the belief that this is the only way to build collections. Once a museum has begun accepting such loans, the pattern is established, and it becomes difficult to persuade potential donors to make free and clear gifts of artifacts when their neighbors are making "permanent loans." Thus, the feeling that the public is more willing to make "permanent loans" than outright donations becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Museologists vehemently oppose the acceptance of long-term or indefinite loans. "Quite a number of small museums have in their collections articles accepted at various times in the past as long-term loans . . . The leaders among museums urge strongly that small museums scrupulously avoid this practice."<sup>43</sup> "Avoid such entanglements at all cost, regardless of the attractiveness of the bait."<sup>44</sup> "Clear and absolute title to each article collected is urgently recommended."<sup>45</sup>

Essentially, a museum which accepts an indefinite loan is providing free storage for someone else's property. The museum is liable for the full antique value of the borrowed artifact in case of damage or loss. Despite the "permanent" nature of such loans, the lender often demands the return of the item just when it has been used as the key piece in an exhibit.

The motives of both parties are suspect. The museum, the borrower, seeks to impress its visitors by displaying objects which it does not own . . . The lender's failure to present the objects as a gift implies a lack of faith in the museum's future . . . The lender, no longer able to care for the materials conveniently, may lend them for an indefinite period to the museum in order to avoid paying the charges asked by a commercial storage warehouse. Or again, social prestige and self-importance may be inflated by reference publicly to the attractive personal property on loan to the museum.<sup>46</sup>

There is an exception to the general stricture against loans. Short-term borrowing, for a set period and for a set purpose, usually a temporary exhibit, is very common. These loans may be made either by other institutions or by individuals, with the bor-

<sup>43</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 34.

<sup>44</sup>Guthe, *So You Want a Good Museum*, p. 3.

<sup>45</sup>Eugene F. Kramer, "Collecting Historical Artifacts: An Aid for Small Museums," AASLH Technical Leaflet 6 (1970), p. 4.

<sup>46</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 34.

rowing museum insuring the loaned items for the duration of the exhibit. But, such loans are arranged to fill gaps in an exhibit, and should be returned immediately following the end of the showing. "Loan collections for special exhibit ought not to be kept longer than two weeks or a month."<sup>47</sup>

Accepting donations with limiting conditions makes even less sense than accepting indefinite loans. "The museum cannot afford to make any agreement that will restrict the reasonable use of its own property."<sup>48</sup> The restrictions donors will most commonly attempt to place on a donation are that the donated items will always be on exhibit, that the collection will never be separated, and that the donor's name be included in any display of the items. A museum should not guarantee the first two conditions for obvious reasons; a given exhibit may not always be appropriate to the museum's current interpretive message. No useful function is served by exhibiting together such disparate items as a Winchester rifle and a silver spoon, simply because both were donated by the same person at the same time.

The condition that an exhibit contain the name of the donor is designed to enhance the donor's prestige. The purpose of exhibits is education, and the name of the donor is the least important information to be given for an artifact.

One danger is in making the museum of history a memorial to certain living individuals . . . The primary interest is not in who gave the piece of silver, . . . real interest lies in the story of the art of silversmithing.<sup>49</sup>

Donors do deserve recognition of their gift. This can be done by articles in the newspaper, or by brass tags at the museum entrance. Many museums have a "New Acquisitions" case where new items are shown for a month or so.

Three duties devolve upon the director: first, to induce gifts by establishing confidence and good will, second, to refuse courageously but tactfully what would become a burden, and third, to avoid awkward conditions attached to gifts that are accepted.<sup>50</sup>

Good public relations are vital to a museum, and refusal of loans or conditional gifts can lead to hard feelings. An established accessions policy prohibiting such arrangements often eases the refusal. Such policies should be followed despite the temptation to bend the rules for a particularly choice donation. "It is better to lose an important addition to the collection than it is to mortgage the museum's future."<sup>51</sup>

<sup>47</sup>Parker, *A Manual for History Museums*, p. 99.

<sup>48</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 33.

<sup>49</sup>Parker, *A Manual for History Museums*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>50</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 122.

<sup>51</sup>Guthe, *So You Want a Good Museum*, p. 3.

Collections documentation is an important segment of museum operations, and perhaps the one area in which virtually all museums fail to measure up to accepted standards. There are many records systems, ranging from index cards to computer banks. While museum records must be tailored to fit the needs of each museum, certain universal requirements exist.

All records should be immediately available for any item selected at random from the collections. Conversely, all related documents and the actual artifact must be easily tied to any one of the records. The museum should be able to identify all items donated by the same person, all items from the same collection, all items of a given type, and all items associated with a specific historical phenomenon. These requirements may be divided into two processes, registration and cataloguing.

"The primary purpose of collection documentation is to insure the permanent and individual absolute identification of each item in the collections."<sup>52</sup> This is the registration process. "To register an object is to assign to it an individual place in a list or register of the materials in the collections in such a manner that it cannot be confused with any other object listed."<sup>53</sup> A registration or accession number is painted directly on the artifact, and applied to all documents related to the artifact. This number generally has three parts, the first segment denoting the year of accession, the second segment representing a certain collection, and the third number identifying each separate item within the given collection.

A registration system needs, in some form, a museum register and an accession record. The register serves as the immediate record of receipt of the artifact; the accession record provides a detailed description and complete information on the item.

"It is well to remember that the objects have been accepted because of their apparent historical significance, and not because they are additions to the collection."<sup>54</sup> The artifact's interpretive potential depends upon knowledge of its provenience, and it is therefore necessary to obtain as much information as possible from the donor at the time of accession. Memory is not always precise, and donors' statements should always be checked for accuracy by comparison with news accounts, scholarly research, and other sources.

There are two important supplements to the museum register and the accession record. The document file stores all correspondence, research notes, and legal forms pertaining to the artifact. The donor file is an alphabetical listing of donors which allows

<sup>52</sup>Carl E. Guthe, "Documenting Collections: Museum Registration and Records," AASLH Technical Leaflet No. 11 (1970), p. 7.

<sup>53</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 36.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

ready identification of all artifacts donated over the years by a given person.

"To catalogue an object is to assign it to one or more categories of an organized classification system so that it and its record may be associated with other objects similar or related to it."<sup>55</sup> The catalogue allows the museum to identify and locate its holdings of chamber pots, or cream separators, or railroading implements. There are no universal classification systems, as the catalogue suitable for a postage stamp museum would not meet the needs of a general history museum. Most museums place items of a similar nature together in the study collections: chamber pots with chamber pots, cream separators with cream separators, locomotives with locomotives. This practice accomplishes a physical classification by type, and the small museum may be able to dispense with a formal catalogue for many years. Classification by type, however, does not answer the need of the museum to bring together all the disparate items associated with the railroad industry.

Registration is by far the most important of the two functions. Cataloguing delayed for years may still be satisfactorily conducted, albeit with great effort; registration postponed even for a short time invites the permanent loss of vital information.

An artifact is ready to be used by the museum once the documentation is complete. The item is therefore added to the museum's artifact pool, which most museums refer to as the "study collection."

These collections constitute a reservoir from which material is drawn for the exhibits; they contain materials of research; they are the source of some of the objects used for educational work. Many things selected for exhibition may be shown only temporarily and then returned to their places in the study collections.<sup>56</sup>

A study collection without proper records management is actually dead storage; efficient information retrieval is the key to productive use of study collections.

Many museums, feeling exhibit area is already insufficient, are unwilling to allot floor space for study collections. This is often due to a confusion as to the proper use of artifacts. "In a well-managed museum a very clear distinction is made between the care and use of the collections and the function and organization of the exhibits."<sup>57</sup> The placing of *all* artifacts in study collections requires far less room than the placing of all items in display cases; the space left over can then be used for exhibits of items carefully

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<sup>55</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 36.

<sup>56</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 127.

<sup>57</sup>Guthe, *So You Want A Good Museum*, p. 45.

chosen from the study collections for their interpretive ability. "Quantity of objects is no substitute for quality of display."<sup>58</sup>

An artifact is exhibited, not as an automatic result of museum ownership, but because of a conscious appraisal of its capacity to interpret local history. "It is *not* our function, in display, to offer every item we may possess. It is our function to use discrimination and taste in choosing items from our collections to tell our stories to the public."<sup>59</sup>

Museums use one or more of three basic types of exhibits: "visible storage" displays, "systematic" displays, and "functional" exhibits.

The first of these is associated with displaying all of the materials in the collections. The exhibit rooms contain too many cases, each of which is over-crowded with a neglected, poorly labelled miscellany of objects.<sup>60</sup>

An example might be either a case containing a rifle, carbide lamp, china plate, an old book, or a case displaying the museum's collection of firearms. Essentially, this technique puts on public view each artifact in the museum collections, hence the term "visible storage."

Systematic displays are commonly found in natural history museums, but the technique is often used in museums of history as well. "The second exhibit policy calls for the systematic arrangement of groups of essentially similar objects."<sup>61</sup> Systematic displays differ from visible storage in that they generally discuss developmental changes in a single class of artifacts. A typical systematic display would examine the evolution of United States military rifles, pointing out differences and, hopefully, commenting on reasons for change.

Visible storage and systematic displays are alike in that both feature the artifact as the center of interest.

The third, and more rare exhibit policy is that in which objects are subordinated to a theme which is carried through one or more exhibit cases. The theory is they have more meaning if they are used to illustrate principles of association or change or growth in art, history, or science. An effort is made to interpret the objects in relation to subjects in which the visitor is or may become interested. This policy approximates the current concept of good exhibit techniques.<sup>62</sup>

This form of exhibit, centered on association by use rather than on artifacts *per se*, has been called "functional" or "interpretive". An exhibit utilizing a United States military rifle in conjunction with

<sup>58</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 63.

<sup>59</sup>Neal, "Function of Display: Regional Museums," p. 230.

<sup>60</sup>Guthe, *So You Want A Good Museum*, p. 27.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>62</sup>Guthe, *So You Want a Good Museum*, p. 28.

other field paraphernalia to interpret the life of the infantryman in the Civil War would fall into this classification. Another common form of functional exhibit is the "period room" in which artifacts are arranged in a setting as they might have been while in use.

Visible storage displays persist, largely due to a failure to distinguish between preservation of collections and the exhibit program. Museums have a responsibility to educate, and "[visitors] are not interested in curiosities, stuffed fleas, pickled club feet, and two-headed calves. They want the museum to get a point across, to tell a story."<sup>63</sup> An exhibit containing a rifle, carbide lamp, saddle, plate, and book does not add to the visitor's comprehension of local history. Even the more advanced form of visible storage in which like objects are grouped together fails to educate. "The great majority of visitors will recognize only that they emphasize the physical differences between essentially similar items."<sup>64</sup> Such minor differences interest the special student while losing the general public.

Developmental exhibits, such as a progression of United States military rifles, can serve a didactic purpose if carefully done. Although primarily of interest to the informed layman, such exhibits can also help the general public, particularly if changes in the artifacts are related to the historical factors influencing them, or being influenced by them. The danger in systematic displays lies in the concentration on the class of artifacts, and it is easy to isolate the artifacts from their historical context.

Functional exhibits tend to be highly selective, presenting the "best" (or most typical) artifacts of the collections in illustrating a portion of history. This can be achieved either through conventional panel and case exhibits, or through more elaborate period rooms. Both systems attempt to integrate the artifact into life in the past, emphasizing the history rather than the artifact.

Viewed in terms of type of service required from the museum, visitors can be divided into four groups: scholars, informed laymen, general public, and school-age children.<sup>65</sup> Museologists are in essential agreement as to the desirability of functional exhibits in serving the needs of the general public. Visible storage is scorned as serving the needs of none. School children are probably served better by programs than by exhibits, and scholars profit most by access to study collections. Museums have therefore enthusiastically embraced functional exhibits. Some museum workers feel, however, that there has been too great a reaction away from visible storage.

<sup>63</sup>Toole, "Museum in the Hinterlands," p. 40.

<sup>64</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 61.

<sup>65</sup>James L. Swauger, "Topless Girl Guides or We Have a Crying Need to be Old-Fashioned," *Curator*, December, 1969, p. 308.

James Swauger complains that in the emphasis on interpretive exhibits for the general public, museums have neglected the informed layman.<sup>66</sup> He favors the inclusion of systematic displays for the benefit of this numerically inferior group, the museum still devoting most of its space to functional exhibits for the general public. Coleman feels both functional and systematic displays, some permanent and some temporary, are required to fully develop a theme.<sup>67</sup> "Judicious use of the functional and systematic systems of arrangement will allow the history museum to offer a broader understanding of its materials."<sup>68</sup> Yet another reason cited for the inclusion of systematic displays is the chance they offer for "the excitement of personal discovery."<sup>69</sup>

A last argument for systematic displays is based on the boredom level of the visitor. Just as newspaper articles are written in a "pyramidal" style which imparts the general information in the first paragraph and then continues with particulars for the interested reader, museum exhibits can be designed to cater to all interest levels. The visitor first encounters functional exhibits aimed at the general public. If he so desires, he can pursue the topic further through systematic displays.<sup>70</sup>

Again, each museum must achieve its own balance in this question. A museum can maintain functional exhibits for the permanent displays, interspersed with temporary exhibits of a systematic nature, and serve most of its audience.

Whatever form of exhibit is utilized, accuracy is of supreme importance. "An error in dating or an object in the wrong surroundings is as serious a fault in [the museum] world as a fallacious footnote or a dishonest reference in the world of the library-bound scholar."<sup>71</sup> Educating the public fails if the information imparted is inaccurate. Errors of omission can be as misleading as those of commission. "Exhibits must be objective and truthful, and tell their stories without hint of bias or propaganda."<sup>72</sup>

A last basic tenet of exhibit theory holds that "static museums are dead museums."<sup>73</sup> A museum conscientiously trying to inter-

<sup>66</sup>Swauger, "Topless Girl Guides," pp. 313-314.

<sup>67</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, pp. 134-135.

<sup>68</sup>Edward P. Alexander, "A Fourth Dimension for History Museums," *Curator*, XI, 4 (1968), p. 281.

<sup>69</sup>Albert Eide Parr, "A Plea for Abundance," *Curator*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1959, pp. 278-279.

<sup>70</sup>Kenneth M. Wilson, "A Philosophy of Museum Exhibition," *Museum News*, October, 1967, pp. 15-16; Hans L. Zetterberg, *Museums and Adult Education* (New York: UNESCO ([ICOM], 1969), p. 26.

<sup>71</sup>Louis C. Jones, "The Trapper's Cabin and the Ivory Tower," *Museum News*, March, 1962.

<sup>72</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 58.

<sup>73</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 58.

pret local history through its exhibit program will need to cover certain topics. Such exhibits, however, should not remain untouched forever. While the basic topics may stay the same, the specific exhibits illustrating those topics should be steadily improved and rotated to avoid staleness.

One of the drawbacks to museum popularity is the eternal sameness of the display. Like a popular magazine, the cover and general style may be the same from month to month, but subscribers would be lacking if there were no change in contents.<sup>74</sup>

Constant revision of the permanent exhibits is one means of ensuring that the museum visitor will always find something new. The short-term temporary exhibition is another facet of a successful exhibit program. Temporary exhibitions may come from a neighboring museum, local collectors, a network of traveling exhibits, or from the study collections of the museum mounting the show. Whatever the source, such exhibits sustain the vitality of the small museum and encourage repeat visits.

Exhibits are a public manifestation of museum activities; few visitors are really aware of the complex internal organization of a museum that makes the exhibits possible. A museum's first need is for some sort of legal status so that it may enter contracts, hold property, receive public money, protect its officers, and be exempt from taxation.<sup>75</sup> This status can be achieved either through inclusion in a larger corporate body such as a local government or foundation, or through formal incorporation. Either circumstance requires a controlling board to guide the museum.

A museum board has two functions: establishing broad policy, and providing for and investing museum monies. The proper name for such a board is therefore "Board of Trustees" rather than "Board of Directors" or "Board of Governors", for the first term most nearly describes the board's proper role in museum management.<sup>76</sup> A board of trustees should represent as many community interests as possible. A very large board, however, is unwieldy, and twelve seems to be about maximum for efficient operation.<sup>77</sup>

Concerning monies, the trustees must "establish a financial program which will insure the receipt of sufficient funds, annually, to support the museum's annual budget."<sup>78</sup>

In the legislative function, "trustees should make policy but not

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<sup>74</sup>Parker, *A Manual for History Museums*, p. 98.

<sup>75</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 22.

<sup>76</sup>William A. Burns, "Trustees: Duties and Responsibilities," *Museum News*, December, 1962, p. 22.

<sup>77</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 24.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 12.

administer it."<sup>79</sup> A common failing of boards of small museums is the tendency to become involved in the day-to-day affairs of the museum. "The trustee is the representative of the public and, as such, is interested in results as distinguished from methods."<sup>80</sup> The actual daily museum operations are the responsibility of a director appointed by the board. The director is an employee of the entire board and takes directions from the board *in toto*, rather than from individual board members. Additional museum employees work for the director, not the trustees.<sup>81</sup> An ideal board of trustees should be "capable of taking continued interest in a museum without trying to hamper the director by too close interference in detail."<sup>82</sup> The hiring of a competent director thus becomes a board's single most important duty.

"The leadership of a trained director is the best assurance of progress."<sup>83</sup> Buildings and equipment do little good without such a person, and so this should be a museum's *first* expense. The small museum may have only one staff member, but that position should be filled by a competent, qualified individual.

No great library system would think of employing a librarian who had not taken a course in a library school or been trained in some well-organized library through which he had gained experience and in which he had demonstrated his ability . . . . The reverse is true in the case of most museums. Untrained persons, whose only qualification is that they need employment, are all too frequently selected with the idea that any person can work his way into museum competence.<sup>84</sup>

The qualifications to be expected of a museum director are not all that stringent; "the incumbent should be a college graduate with an adequate knowledge of history and museum practices."<sup>85</sup> Any university has courses to expand competence in various facets of museum work. The point to stress is the importance of hiring a competent individual, even if the budget will only allow for one position. "A museum in charge of a custodian or caretaker is doomed to be a mausoleum."<sup>86</sup>

One does not enter the museum field in order to become wealthy. Indeed, many museums are staffed solely by dedicated volunteers. As funds become available for salaries, however, the

<sup>79</sup>Lammot du Pont Copeland, "The Role of Trustees: Selection and Responsibilities," AASLH Technical Leaflet No. 72 (1974), p. 3.

<sup>80</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 50.

<sup>81</sup>Burns, "Trustees: Duties and Responsibilities," p. 23.

<sup>82</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 24.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 114.

<sup>84</sup>Parker, *A Manual for History Museums*, pp. 158-159.

<sup>85</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 18.

<sup>86</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 28.

museum should make every effort to pay its staff in a manner consistent with the importance of the position.

In order to maintain the dignity of the museum and to attract the right kind of person, the salary offered the director of a small historical museum should be commensurate with that of a principal in the city's school system, or that of the head of a similar city agency, such as the public library.<sup>87</sup>

Museums customarily allocate two-thirds of the annual budget for salaries, indicating the importance of paid staff.<sup>88</sup>

If a museum cannot afford its own director, part-time services of a trained person are preferable to full-time services of an untrained one. Several museums within reasonable range of each other can combine resources and so share the cost of a director, with the volunteers of each museum providing the needed staff help.

Volunteer help keeps most small museums alive. The museum with *no* paid staff leads a tenuous existence, for a museum needs a certain continuity and reliability that even the most devoted volunteers cannot provide. Even with paid staff, however, volunteers make possible an enormous expansion of the museum's resources and services. Volunteers teach school classes, serve as docents, and handle publications, publicity, and the sales desk. They serve as artists, cataloguers, typists, craftsmen, and caterers for special occasions. Volunteers research and prepare permanent, temporary, and loan exhibitions. Unpaid help is especially useful in exhibit design, since volunteers lend a new viewpoint which can save a museum's exhibits from a dreadful monotony. Also, volunteers visit other museums in their travels, and can bring back reports of techniques in use elsewhere.<sup>89</sup>

Besides the public-spirited citizens interested in history in general, any community has members equipped with special abilities.

Every museum should seek out those citizens who possess talents, interests or hobbies that are related to its program. By enlisting their active participation in the work of the museum, its development will be more rapid, the number of persons identifying themselves with its program will increase, and its integration into the daily life of the community will be strengthened.<sup>90</sup>

Artists, modelers, designers, and collectors can be great help. High school and college teachers are often very useful in determining an artifact's background or interpreting a complicated aspect of

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<sup>87</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 18.

<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup>Roberl B. Mayo, "A Strategy for Exhibitions," *Museum News*, March 1971, p. 31.

<sup>90</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 18.

local history. Many museum libraries and manuscript collections are managed by the local public librarian.

Volunteers can be trained to perform highly technical skills. With appropriate training and supervision, volunteers can aid in artifact and site preservation, research, and archaeological work.<sup>91</sup> Indeed, the small museum often appoints such highly skilled people as professors and librarians to unpaid curatorial positions.<sup>92</sup> Such public service is useful when college pay increases are being considered.

Those in the professions are generally most useful as board members. Bankers, lawyers, architects, and members of the press can be especially helpful.<sup>93</sup>

Volunteer labor is by no means limited to adults. Teen-agers can render valuable service. They must be trained, but so must adults. Young people can perform most of the tasks customarily completed by adults, but they excel in a few specific areas: caring for small animals, and guiding youth tours.<sup>94</sup> Of course, if money is available, school students can be hired on a part-time basis. The quality of work is good, the museum dollar is stretched, and the students gain experience and knowledge.

The benefits to the museum of volunteer help are obvious, but there may be some hidden pitfalls. Volunteers require supervision and coordination, and this may take staff from other duties. History is a matter of interpretation, and a competent interpretation requires "experience and hard study and research"; not all volunteers will be suitable guides.<sup>95</sup> Carl Guthe advises "services should be accepted only on the basis of not less than a full half-day tour of duty," lest scheduling become too burdensome.<sup>96</sup> This service may be only once a month, but continuity and regularity are the goal.

Volunteers must be evaluated. An enthusiastic volunteer blundering through the cataloguing system can render the museum records useless. Furthermore, the public's only contact with the museum staff may be a volunteer docent. While working at the museum, volunteers are staff. Their performance must therefore

<sup>91</sup>Huldah Smith Payson, "Volunteers: Priceless Personnel for the Small Museum," *Museum News*, February 1967, pp. 19-20.

<sup>92</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 31.

<sup>93</sup>Guthe, *So You Want a Good Museum*, p. 12.

<sup>94</sup>James H. Duff, "An Untapped Resource," *Museum News*, May 1972, p. 26.

<sup>95</sup>Aalbert Heine, "The Care and Feeding of Volunteer Staff Members," *Curator*, December, 1965, p. 289.

<sup>96</sup>Guthe, *So You Want a Good Museum*, p. 16.

be analyzed, and if the museum cannot do the evaluation, it should call in someone who can.<sup>97</sup>

Despite the widespread use of volunteer help in educational and curatorial capacities, some question such involvement. One observer notes "the volunteer has a great service to perform. It is not proper that that service should include administration, whether curatorial or educational."<sup>98</sup> While such sentiments might be proper in a large metropolitan museum, it is likely small museums will continue to utilize volunteer labor in all aspects of operations.

Large museums pay a staff member to coordinate volunteers. Small museums more often rely upon some form of organization to achieve the same end. "It has been found that the most effective services are secured by persuading the volunteers to organize themselves as a museum 'auxiliary' or 'guild.'"<sup>99</sup>

Sometimes volunteers present themselves with an existing structure. University classes involved in a project fall into this category. So do members of a garden club helping with the landscaping, or docents supplied by a women's club. If a group has such a structure, then the museum can work through it. Often, though, the volunteers are united only through their interest in the museum, and in such cases organization may be called for.

In those museums in which volunteers are used most successfully, the volunteers are organized into a club or museum auxiliary, with officers and committees in charge of various classes of museum services. Through this organization the volunteers do their own policing, work out schedules with the director, and furnish substitutes when the volunteer on regular assignment cannot report for duty.<sup>100</sup>

While most volunteer organizations confine themselves to arranging scheduling, some go further and sort their members by aptitudes into different functions, and then even provide the specialized training necessary.<sup>101</sup> Whatever approach is taken to the structuring of volunteers, benign neglect or rigid regimentation, one thing is clear: "they are all adults with full mental capacities and there are very few things . . . staff can do that they could not do, perhaps with a poor professional technique, but at least, with the same interest and often, with more enthusiasm."<sup>102</sup>

Volunteers stretch a museum's budget, but they cannot replace it. Any museum requires some source of income to carry out its

<sup>97</sup>Daniel B. Reibel, "The Volunteer: Nuisance or Savior," *Museum News*, March 1971, pp. 28-30.

<sup>98</sup>Frank P. Graham, "Defining Limitations of the Volunteer Worker," *Curator*, December, 1965, p. 293.

<sup>99</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 19.

<sup>100</sup>Guthe, *So You Want a Good Museum*, p. 16.

<sup>101</sup>Mildred S. Compton, "A Training Program for Museum Volunteers," *Curator*, December, 1965, p. 296.

<sup>102</sup>Heine, "Volunteer Staff Members," p. 287.

interpretive task; fortunately, the small museum can derive monies from the same sources as large museums. The basic categories of funds tapped by small museums are: (1) public monies, (2) memberships, (3) endowment income, (4) grants, (5) gifts, (6) sales and fees, and (7) proceeds of fund-raising events.<sup>103</sup> Any and all of these sources can be utilized, but some prove more satisfactory than others.

Public monies generally are raised either through taxation or through the sale of bonds. Funding from bond sales should strictly be reserved for capital outlay; tax monies are available for personnel costs, operating expenses, and capital outlay, at the discretion of the museum's staff and board of trustees. Tax support may come either in the form of an annual appropriation or as an occasional subsidy as needed. Often such support entails public control of a museum, but even those institutions not operated as a branch of local government are entitled to public support. Museums provide educational and recreational services to the citizens of a city or county, and it is only fair that some reimbursement be provided from the public coffers.<sup>104</sup>

By the same token, it is a perfectly natural arrangement for school districts to financially assist local museums. This assistance can take the form of a direct fee based on the number of pupils, or, if enough students use the museum, the schools can justify a teacher to work full time at the museum.

The school system and the museum have a joint obligation to finance the museum lesson program. Both share the expense of providing teaching materials and equipment and advertising the school program.

The school system bears the cost of its teachers' salaries and provides secretarial help. In return, the museum makes concessions on admission charges and provides space for the public school museum teachers.<sup>105</sup>

While such partnerships can generate significant income to offset operating costs, the museum's interpretive function may be suborned by attempts to qualify for these funds. "'A loss of identity' may also occur when a museum decides to enter a close partnership with a school system for the prime reason of obtaining access to public funds earmarked for education."<sup>106</sup>

Whether an institution receives public monies or not, it is customary for museums to offer "memberships" to the general public. Such memberships may be in the name of the museum proper, or

<sup>103</sup>Guthe, *So You Want a Good Museum*, p. 20.

<sup>104</sup>Guthe, *So You Want a Good Museum*, p. 22.

<sup>105</sup>Sidney A. Shotz, "Forming an Educational Alliance," *Museum News*, March 1962, p. 32.

<sup>106</sup>Wittlin, *Museums: In Search of a Usable Future*, p. 215.

in the name of an auxiliary support group; they may or may not be the same as belonging to the museum's organized volunteers. Members generally pay annual dues and receive in return some form of benefits. Often there are different levels of dues reflecting different abilities to pay, ranging from student rates to life memberships. Rates vary considerably, but a life membership consists of the donation of a sum sufficiently large that, invested, it will yield annual interest equal to the cost of regular dues.

Membership programs provide museums with fairly regular income as well as less tangible benefits. Membership lists provide a ready source of donors for special projects, whether funds or artifacts are required. Memberships provide an open avenue for community "input" and allow members to feel a sense of identity with the programs of the museum. The membership constitutes a source of word-of-mouth publicity, and, when needed, also serves as an easily mobilized political body. Obviously, many members will serve as volunteers.

Members also profit by their association with the museum. Advantages commonly include free or reduced admission (at those museums charging entrance fees), sales shop discounts, exclusive receptions marking the openings of exhibitions, special lectures, and perhaps a publication. Material advantages aside, many join museum groups for largely psychological reasons: in a desire to "belong," for prestige, in order to better communicate with the museum administration.<sup>107</sup> Recognizing this, many museums present members with attractive certificates and membership cards.

Regardless of the members' reasons for joining, their economic contribution can be significant. It must be remembered, however, that the broader the membership, the broader the museum's support base. "It is more desirable to have 100 members at \$5.00 a year, than one patron who has contributed \$500.00."<sup>108</sup>

Endowments represent another predictable source of museum funding. An endowment fund is created and invested, with the monies generated in the form of interest helping to offset the museum's on-going expenses. The principal is inviolate, and as only the interest is spent, in time endowment can supply a large proportion of the annual budget.<sup>109</sup>

Most additions to the endowment come as bequests. Some museums add all cash gifts to the endowment as well. Public monies, however, must never be added to an endowment fund.<sup>110</sup>

As the endowment grows, so naturally do the proceeds from the

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<sup>107</sup>Richard Trenbeth, "Building from Strength Through the Membership Approach," *Museum News*, September 1967, p. 25.

<sup>108</sup>Guthe, *So You Want a Good Museum*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>109</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 79.

<sup>110</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 81.

interest. It is unwise though to rely too much on the income from this source, for inflation of the economy can increase faster than the endowment.

Government agencies often administer grant programs applicable to museums. The programs change yearly, as old projects are abandoned and new ones adopted. Whatever the source of the grant monies, certain basic characteristics remain fairly constant.

Monies are available for specific projects and sometimes for capital improvements, but rarely for personnel costs and almost never for operating expenses. Careful, separate accounting is required of the awarded funds. The receiving institution usually has to match or at least augment the granted monies.

Non-profit foundations and private corporations also award grants. Often less restrictive than government grants, they still require precise accounting procedures. Whatever the source, grants can allow a museum to carry out one-time projects it could not otherwise accomplish.

Gifts come in different forms. Unsolicited cash gifts not earmarked by the donor for a specific purpose often go into the endowment fund. Most museums feature a donation box; some institutions use this as a source of petty cash, others add these monies to the endowment, or use them for specific funds such as the purchase of artifacts.

Museums can solicit cash gifts in addition to these random donations. Such gifts are generated more easily if the museum's needs are made known, and the gifts used for a specific purpose.<sup>111</sup> A museum can thus pay for a traveling exhibit or a needed piece of equipment. Often businesses or civic groups will provide needed equipment. It is not inappropriate in these instances to credit the gift with some sort of plaque on the donated item.<sup>112</sup>

Most museums cannot afford to purchase artifacts, both because of insufficient funds and through fear of discouraging donations. When an especially desirable item does come up for sale, the director can often persuade a public-spirited "angel" to purchase the item and donate it to the museum.

Businesses are often willing to sponsor entire exhibits, particularly when the exhibit deals in some way with the sponsor, as in the case of an equipment dealer funding an agricultural display. Such arrangements benefit the museum, the public, and the sponsor. Care must be taken to avoid over-commercialization, however, and the museum's interpretation must not suffer.

Gifts of materials can be as valuable as cash donations. Free building materials can often be obtained from local sawmills.

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<sup>111</sup>Guthe, *So You Want a Good Museum*, p. 23.

<sup>112</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 64.

Community building supply yards may donate plywood damaged in shipping, paint in dented cans, and the like.<sup>113</sup> All such gifts expand the museum budget and further the museum's goals. Many museums acknowledge gifts, both of cash and materials, with brass tags at the building's entrance.

Museums also generate income through sales and fees. One basic reason (though not necessarily the primary reason) for a museum sales shop, is to raise money. Museums, being tax exempt, can operate a sales desk and pay no taxes, so long as the shop carries only items related to the interpretive goals of the museum.<sup>114</sup> Many museums staff their shops with volunteers, and without a payroll, a profitable operation is virtually guaranteed.

A museum fortunate enough to possess a lecture hall can rent it to groups not associated with the museum. Historical societies and collectors' clubs probably should be allowed to use the building free, however, as a means of establishing cooperation and furthering historic interpretation.

Some museums charge admission fees, and others do not. Before deciding to charge admission, a museum should carefully weigh the arguments for and against the practice.

Many museums do not levy admission fees, for a variety of reasons. Public museums are tax-supported, and so citizens should not have to pay twice to use their museum. Indeed, there is some question as to whether a museum enjoying the tax benefits of non-profit status, whether public or not, should charge admission. A museum charging for entrance is also in some danger of being mistaken for a "tourist trap."

The primary objection to admission fees, however, is simply that they tend to exclude precisely those members of the public most able to benefit from the museum experience.<sup>115</sup> Libraries are free, why not museums?

The effect of these considerations is such that, as early as 1927, Laurence Coleman could state "there is a trend towards free admission of the public at all times."<sup>116</sup> And, in 1960, UNESCO resolved that "member states should take all appropriate steps to insure that the museums on their territory are accessible to all without regard to economic or social status."<sup>117</sup>

There can, however, be advantages to admission fees. First and foremost, such fees can represent an important source of income,

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<sup>113</sup>Mayo, "A Strategy For Exhibitions," p. 33.

<sup>114</sup>J. W. Evans, "Some Observations, Remarks, and Suggestions Concerning Natural History Museums," *Curator*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1962, p. 90.

<sup>115</sup>Robbins, *America's Museums: The Belmont Report*, p. 28.

<sup>116</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 65.

<sup>117</sup>Hans L. Zetterberg, *Museums and Adult Education* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969), p. 1.

especially for museums not receiving public tax monies. Tourists make up much of any museum's audience, and admissions fees let them add their support to the tax dollars of local citizens. In a time of widespread dissatisfaction with high local taxes, admission fees provide a mechanism for the direct support of museums by the public actually using them. Admission fees also tend to reduce loitering, and may even serve to increase attendance, by emphasizing that the museum's offerings are of marketable value.<sup>118</sup>

Compromises are possible, balancing the need for income with the need to serve the public. A system in which some days of the week are free, and others not, has advantages. Income is still derived from admission fees, but citizens unable to pay for entry can come on one of the free days. Thus no one is excluded. The relative seclusion to be found on "pay-days" can be of value to the researcher seeking peace and quiet in which to study the exhibits.<sup>119</sup> Alternately, a "suggested donation" system can replace set admission rates. Ultimately, the public interest must be the deciding factor in the question of admission fees, and each museum will have to evaluate the matter in the light of its own unique situation.

Most museums use different types of fund-raising activities. There are hundreds of methods, ranging from raffles and auctions, through bake sales and paper drives, to benefit dinners and silver teas. Museum periodicals present new ideas each month. Suffice it to say, while degrees of success vary, different fund-raising activities will prove effective for each museum. They all entail considerable labor, but can build up the endowment fund or finance special projects.

Volunteer services clearly stretch museum dollars. Certain forms are so valuable as to qualify as sources of income. Several federal programs provide either free or nearly free staff help.

The Retired Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP) is part of the ACTION complex, administered through county governments. The program reimburses retired volunteers for such daily expenses as transportation and meal costs, so they can volunteer without financial loss. Any tax-exempt agency is eligible. The older citizens, many with invaluable knowledge and experience, serve as docents, sales people, and technicians. Museum and volunteer both benefit.

Many different programs are operated through the federal Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), administered through the counties. CETA employees are paid entirely through federal funds, with the tax-exempt employing institutions providing

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<sup>118</sup>Joel F. Gustafson, "To Charge or Not to Charge," *Museum News*, February 1962, p. 18.

<sup>119</sup>Cleeman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 244.

all needed facilities and tools. CETA employees have served in all different levels of museum work, as well as on county-wide manpower pools which render aid as needed. A similar program, available only to agencies of local government, is the Public Works Employment Act (PWEA).

Another federal program, formerly the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) but now called the Youth Employment Program (YEP), is also county-operated. This program pays the salaries of low income youth, breaking the "no experience—no employment" cycle. The young employees work part-time during the school year, and full time in summers. YEP enrollees provide museums with janitorial and sales help, and serve as interpreters and technicians.

CETA, YEP, PWEA and RSVP programs all provide staff members at no cost to the museum. The federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Office of Higher Education supervises the College Work-Study Program, administered through universities and community colleges. The federal government pays 80 per cent of the student's salary, the museum the remaining 20 per cent. The museum must get real service from the student, and the student should gain education as well as money. Again, students can work half-time in the winter and full time in the summer. Work-study students serve as guides, teachers, technicians, artists, sales and maintenance help, and in carrying out specialized research.

These constitute the principal federal work programs of use to museums, but others exist. Each museum should seek out programs applicable to its situation, for no museum ever has enough staff help.

Valuable assistance also comes within the structure of high school and college classes. High school students provide excellent help in such areas as welding, carpentry, and photography.<sup>120</sup> College classes have the manpower and expertise to develop exhibits, carry out surveys, and assist in solving technical problems. A particularly satisfactory relationship can be established between small museums and a university history department. A museum with a specific research problem contacts the history department, where a young scholar may be interested in taking on the project. The museum gains the labor of a trained historian, and offers in return its unique research resources.<sup>121</sup>

A final means of expanding the museum budget lies in simple cooperation between neighboring museums. Museums can share the services of staff members; they can also share tools and facil-

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<sup>120</sup>Mayo, "A Strategy for Exhibitions," p. 31.

<sup>121</sup>Jones, "The Trapper's Cabin and the Ivory Tower," p. 16.

ties. On a small scale, several small museums pooling their resources could afford such relatively costly tools as table saws or dry-mount presses, which might be too expensive for each to purchase separately. Similarly, several institutions could share photographic darkroom facilities, or even a conservation laboratory (and conservator) for restoration of artifacts.<sup>122</sup>

Each of these funding sources is tapped by small museums across the country. The more of these a museum can utilize, the more secure its financial position. Funding diversity will not only increase the revenue an institution has to work with; multiple revenues protect a museum from the sudden failure of any one traditional income source. "In practice a museum usually develops each source to the utmost, and then finds the total to be inadequate to needs."<sup>123</sup>

A museum collects, preserves, and exhibits artifacts. A museum needs a legal status, financing, and a staff in order to accomplish these ends. No institution which does all this efficiently and effectively will go wrong. Such a museum, however, is still short of achieving its full potential as an historical agency. A museum can use a variety of programs and activities to expand its interpretation within and beyond the building walls. "*It is not what a museum has but what it does with what it has that counts.*"<sup>124</sup>

Most institutions lump this area of activity under the general heading of "museum education." *The Belmont Report* found in 1969 that more than 90 per cent of American museums offer at least one such program.<sup>125</sup> Each activity expands the audience and spreads the museum's message further. It is better, therefore, to develop a number of programs for the public, than to concentrate solely on one activity.<sup>126</sup> While quantity is not necessarily to be preferred to quality, a museum expanding its interpretation can select the means to be used from a broad range of available possibilities.

The public thinks of guided tours, if it thinks of museum education at all. While visitors expect and may even demand tours in a museum, this actually may not be an effective communication form. Ideally, an exhibit is designed and presented so as to require no explanatory literature. Practically, labels usually complement an exhibit's visual presentation. Visitors capable of reading, therefore, do not require a guide; children unable to read are also generally "lost" by a conventional tour. Duncan Cameron main-

<sup>122</sup>Sophy Burnham, "Competition or Cooperation: Six Ideas for Museum Monies," *Curator*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1964, p. 53.

<sup>123</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 65.

<sup>124</sup>Parker, *A Manual for History Museums*, p. 113.

<sup>125</sup>Robbins, *America's Museums: The Belmont Report*, p. 10.

<sup>126</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 113.

tains that "the communications process in the museum is essentially a dialogue between the individual visitor and the exhibit, it is an intimate experience; and therefore the exhibit is not suited to group experience."<sup>127</sup>

Tours remain effective in certain situations. Historic house museums find tours an excellent solution to problems both of interpretation and security. Museums with convention exhibits can use tours to orient visitors, so they in turn can use the museum to greater advantage.

Large museums in major cities have installed permanent galleries for visually impaired visitors. Such provisions are beyond the means of most museums, but even small institutions can serve the blind, through the use of special tours. The blind visitor is generally allowed to handle artifacts from the study collections.<sup>128</sup>

The lecture is another common form of museum education. The featured speaker may be a member of the museum staff or an expert imported for the occasion. Such lectures may be open to the public at large, or restricted to members of the museum's support group. Many museums present a combination of open and closed lectures, thereby serving the public and at the same time offering an incentive to join the support group.

Lectures can be expanded into classes, offered directly by the museum. Classes reach fewer citizens than lectures, but their impact may be more lasting. It used to be customary for museums to offer consecutive class instruction, week after week, as part of the adult education movement.<sup>129</sup> Adult education is now an integral part of public schools and community colleges, and so museums have shifted their emphasis to classes of a more concentrated nature.

The mobile character of modern society deprives many adults of any knowledge of local history. A one-morning seminar on local history, illustrated by artifacts from the study collections, thus meets a common need.<sup>130</sup> Another popular form of seminar, rather than illustrating the topic with artifacts, focuses on the artifact itself.<sup>131</sup>

These same concepts are used in presenting classes for children. One small museum holds week-long summer workshops for children "under the theme of beginning a community in a previously

<sup>127</sup>Duncan F. Cameron, "A Viewpoint: The Museum as a Communications System and Implications for Museum Education," *Curator*, March, 1968, p. 38.

<sup>128</sup>Harry C. Hendriksen, "Your Museum: A Resource for the Blind," *Museum News*, October 1971, p. 28.

<sup>129</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 261.

<sup>130</sup>Robert J. McQuarie, "The Small Museum: Some Reflections," *Museum News*, March 1971, p. 17.

<sup>131</sup>Jones, "The Trapper's Cabin and the Ivory Tower," p. 15.

unsettled area in the year of their choice—sometime in the 19th Century.<sup>132</sup> After a day of orientation, the participants actually try their hands at such frontier skills as blacksmithing, printing, or weaving, spending a full day at each activity.

A slightly different form of museum class, perhaps less common in recent years than formerly, consists of some type of museum-sponsored club for junior historians. Alternately, a museum can develop a close relationship with hobby groups in the community, allowing such clubs to meet at the museum and perhaps even utilize the study collection. The museum gains the expertise of the hobbyists, advances the study of a particular class of artifacts, and may even acquire useful accessions.<sup>133</sup>

The museum library represents yet another means of extending the museum. Every museum needs a reference library for the use of the staff, containing works on local history, museum practices, and the various classes of artifacts in the study collections. The museum library should also subscribe to pertinent periodicals. Museologists are united in warning, however, that newspapers, documents, and manuscripts should be avoided.<sup>134</sup> Museums deal in three-dimensional artifacts; historic papers should more appropriately be cared for by the local library, historical society, or perhaps a state archives.

Vital as a staff tool, the museum library is a valuable resource to the community at large. The museum library supplements the public library by maintaining volumes of a specialized nature, which otherwise would not be available. The museum library should remain a reference body, however, and books should not circulate, for they may be needed by the staff at any time.<sup>135</sup>

The museum sales shop represents a means of providing visitors with books they *can* take home. The store is primarily a public service, despite its secondary role as an income generator; that is why its income is tax-exempt. The store can aid in interpretation, however, only if it confines itself to pertinent materials. "The store must stock merchandise reflecting the programs and purposes of the museum and its collections."<sup>136</sup> Stock not relevant to the museum's activities will jeopardize the shop's tax-exempt status under the regulations of the Internal Revenue Service.

"First and foremost, the museum store should be an excellent

<sup>132</sup>Becky Love, *Ideas from History: Littleton Area Historical Museum Children's Summer Workshop* (mimeographed by Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education, 1972), p. 6.

<sup>133</sup>Guthe, *So You Want a Good Museum*, p. 31.

<sup>134</sup>Parker, *A Manual for History Museums*, p. 151.

<sup>135</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 149.

<sup>136</sup>David Henry Krahel, "Why a Museum Store," *Curator*, September, 1971, p. 201.

bookstore."<sup>137</sup> Books concerning local history and items represented in the museum collections are popular with visitors, and often not readily available from local merchants. Most museum shops carry literature of varying intellectual levels, to serve a broad spectrum of the public. Post cards and photographic slides also spread the museum message, particularly when they represent the actual museum exhibits. Other types of merchandise, such as artifact replicas, may be appropriate, with pertinence to the museum's theme always being a prime consideration.

Tours, lectures, classes, and books all assist museum visitors in understanding local history. A substantial percentage of the population, however, may never enter the museum, and so does not benefit from such programs. Due to this consideration, "the modern museum has reached a stage of development where it seeks to spread its educational message beyond its own walls."<sup>138</sup>

Publication programs allow a museum to reach a large public. Museum literature serves one or two functions: it can lure visitors to the museum, and it can be interpretive in its own right.<sup>139</sup> The most effective examples do both.

Even with meager resources, a museum can initiate a modest publications program. The simplest system involves the issuance of annual reports, period bulletins or newsletters, and leaflets.<sup>140</sup> Annual reports, in effect, justify the museum's existence to the public, including a financial report and accounts of activities and accessions. Newsletters serve to inform museum supporters of coming events. Leaflets may augment a temporary or permanent exhibition, or may present a schedule of changing shows.

On a more ambitious scale, museums can become involved in printing books on local history. Many local histories, unfortunately, are not what they could be, and a museum might better serve the public by encouraging local historians in their efforts.<sup>141</sup>

One particular form of publication is the natural property of museums, and that is the monograph. Museums are unique in caring for artifacts, and museum publications should reflect this fact.<sup>142</sup> The monograph, illustrating some narrowly defined segment of the museum's collections, provides information often not available from any other source. Such monographs are of interest to other museums, scholars, collectors, and the general public.

A common means of "publication" employed by small museums is the feature article in the local newspaper. Such articles can con-

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<sup>137</sup>Krahel, "Why a Museum Store," p. 201.

<sup>138</sup>Adam, *The Museum and Popular Culture*, p. 149.

<sup>139</sup>Zetterberg, *Museums and Adult Education*, p. 66.

<sup>140</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 269.

<sup>141</sup>Adam, *The Museum and Popular Culture*, p. 157.

<sup>142</sup>Parker, *A Manual for History Museums*, pp. 134-135.

cern new accessions, upcoming events, and the like, or they may take the form of a weekly or monthly "history column." Thus, museum use of newspapers can be divided into articles of either institutional or educational focus—the former dealing with events at the museum, the latter pertaining to local history and material culture.<sup>143</sup> The two are often combined.

Radio and television can be used in the same manner. Informal discussions relating the museum to daily life and vice-versa seems to suit such media better than formal scholarly treatments.<sup>144</sup>

Such "public relations" considerations are not inconsistent with the museum's goal. Through them, the institution contacts the public and makes it aware of the museum's offerings, thereby increasing the effect of its interpretation. Directional signs on the city streets and on the highways will make it easier for the visitor to find the museum. Flyers telling about the museum can be distributed to motels, public transportation centers, and other museums, and the Chamber of Commerce and local "Welcome Wagon."<sup>145</sup> Another helpful technique is an "open house," with refreshments, for local police, restaurant and accommodations staffs, and gas station attendants, to acquaint them with the museum so they in turn can inform others.<sup>146</sup>

Essentially, the job of public relations for a small museum director is one of acquainting himself with every public communications medium in his community, learning the specific interests and restrictions of each, and applying a little imagination in the development of newsworthy stories.<sup>147</sup>

Actual exhibits can be a form of publication. Museums in large cities often place exhibits in banks or in shop windows, to reach a larger audience. Most Wyoming towns are not large enough to require such activities, but loaned displays at the local library can greatly assist both institutions. Libraries often feature displays of books related to one topic, and a loaned museum exhibit can round out that theme. Exhibits stimulate reading, and the museum thus inspires the public to pursue a subject through individual study.<sup>148</sup> What more could any museum ask? The borrowing institution usually supplies the display cases.

Another form of loaned exhibit is the circulating slide show or film reel, often accompanied by a cassette-recorded lecture. T. R.

<sup>143</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 276.

<sup>144</sup>Low, *The Museum as a Social Instrument*, pp. 57-58.

<sup>145</sup>Robert Shostek, "Publicity for the Small Museum," *Museum News*, May 1966, p. 25.

<sup>146</sup>Waters, "Museums and Tourism," p. 36.

<sup>147</sup>Shostek, "Publicity for the Small Museum," p. 26.

<sup>148</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 42.

Adams fears these may be of most use to school-age children and adolescents, but their distribution should be considered.<sup>149</sup>

One type of loaned exhibit seems natural, and yet is not employed to its full potential. Museums can loan exhibits to each other. This spreads a museum's message, and acquaints citizens in another area with the heritage of a neighboring community.

Parker recommends that museums exchange individual exhibits.<sup>150</sup> The quality of such displays is high, as each institution strives to "put its best foot forward." Also, each museum participating in such an exchange receives a free exhibit, designed from a fresh (to that institution) point of view.

A similar approach is the rotation of a museum's temporary exhibitions. After the show has run its course at the originating museum, it can move on to another institution and a fresh audience. The cause of interpretation is furthered, and the loaning museum gains some nice publicity as well.<sup>151</sup>

The Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service (SITES) offers a large selection of loan exhibits on numerous topics; borrowing institutions pay an insurance, production, and handling fee, and outgoing expenses. Loans between museums are essentially free, with the borrower paying insurance, packing, and transportation costs. The net effect is wider interpretation. One critic, however, feels that the borrower should also pay for the staff time involved in selecting and processing requested items.<sup>152</sup> This attitude ignores the reciprocal nature of inter-museum loans, and the benefits to be gained from such exchanges.

Programs with and for school age children, *through the schools*, represent the bulk of museum education programs, both in terms of numbers and in terms of staff effort.

The integration of museum services with school instruction is widely practiced. It is predicated upon the recognition that the pupils will take a greater interest in their studies if they are given an opportunity to see and handle, if possible, materials in the museum collections.<sup>153</sup>

It must be emphasized at the outset that museum education programs supplement, rather than supplant, formal school system educational efforts.

Museums do not consider it their primary responsibility in educational programs to transmit information. What museums can do—

<sup>149</sup>Adam, *The Museum and Popular Culture*, pp. 151-152.

<sup>150</sup>Parker, *A Manual for History Museums*, pp. 142-143.

<sup>151</sup>Shostek, "Publicity for the Small Museum," p. 26.

<sup>152</sup>Harry Shapiro, "Borrowing and Lending," *Curator*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1960, p. 203.

<sup>153</sup>Guthe, *So You Want a Good Museum*, pp. 29-30.

often better than schools—is to awaken interest, give children a new dimension they couldn't get from the printed page and stimulate them to go to school and learn.<sup>154</sup>

Interpretive possibilities aside, school programs tend to generate public support, if well done, and this cannot fail to aid the institution in the pursuit of its goals.

Every museum receives occasional requests for services from schools, generally asking for tours. It is almost always the initiative of the museum, however, that establishes an *organized* pattern of cooperation.<sup>155</sup>

There are two basic philosophies of museum-school cooperation, which may or may not be mutually exclusive. The museum can carefully program its educational functions to match the school curriculum, or it can deliberately avoid this, in the theory that adherence to the school curriculum is redundant.<sup>156</sup> Because museums deal with three-dimensional materials, and schools do not, it is unlikely that true duplicated effort is a real danger. Schools are organized, however, to deal with children by age and grade, and it is possible for the museum to structure its programs in terms of interest groups, regardless of age.<sup>157</sup> Such details should be worked out with the local schools at the commencement of museum-school cooperation.

Curriculum adherence settled, museums tend to serve schools in one or more of three ways: through circulation of exhibits or artifacts to schools, by instructing classes at the museum, or by going to the classrooms and giving programs there. Each method has strengths and weaknesses.

Many museums identify and isolate a "lending collection" of items considered expendable, either duplicates from the study collections or artifacts obtained expressly for educational purposes.<sup>158</sup> These can be loaned to schools singly or built into loan exhibits. The latter tack is perhaps more satisfactory from a didactic viewpoint, as the museum then has some control over the interpretive message accompanying the artifacts.

One museum builds small enclosed "suitcase" exhibits, each on an individual topic, and circulates them to the schools, much like a library. A teacher checks out an exhibit for two weeks, and returns it at the end of the allotted period. Overdue fees are charged. In this way the museum is relieved of responsibility for the logistics

<sup>154</sup>Robbins, *America's Museums: The Belmont Report*, p. 16.

<sup>155</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 69.

<sup>156</sup>Evans, "Observations, Remarks, and Suggestions," p. 85.

<sup>157</sup>Helmut Hoffman, "Translating Inert to Living Knowledge," *Curator*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1962, p. 126.

<sup>158</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, pp. 140-141.

of the loan, and yet the school children still benefit from exposure to the artifacts.<sup>159</sup>

Loaned materials are thus the simplest form of school service to implement. The schools and school children benefit, and the museum does not need to invest a great amount of staff time. Both the school and the museum are spared the headaches inherent in transporting children to the museum.

Nonetheless, teachers *will* bring their classes to the museum. At one time, museum lecture halls were common. Shotz observes that formal museum lectures to school children are of little use, as few children remember any of what they hear.<sup>160</sup>

Many museums encounter the ritual annual end-of-the-school-year class visit. Teachers often succumb to the temptation, as long as they've finally got the use of a bus, to try and squeeze in visits to the history and art museums, the courthouse, the fire station, and the park, all in one day. Probably the only time the children get out of the schoolroom all year, it is little wonder that the class is usually far too excited to absorb any of the museum's offerings. By both student and teacher, tours "are apt to be considered sightseeing excursions unrelated to classroom interests."<sup>161</sup>

Cameron suggests that school use of museums be more similar to school use of libraries, as a *continuing* resource.<sup>162</sup> No one would dream of visiting a library and attempting to read every book on the shelves in one sitting. Yet, this is precisely what many class visits try to achieve at the museum. Tours are still useful, but at the *start* of the school year, and as an orientation, not to absorb exhibits. The class assignments through the year can send the students back to the museum for in-depth study, with an emphasis on their reaching their own conclusions.

A variation on this practice is used by the Colorado State Historical Society. School classes studying the cattle industry in Colorado come to the museum specifically for a program on the cattle industry. The program, held in the museum's cattle industry gallery, includes artifacts, replicas, and role-playing exercises. Similar programs are available in other areas of Colorado history. The museum greatly increases the value of the class visit by focusing on a manageable segment of the museum's overall scope.

School districts sometimes select a general theme, to be employed by all grades for one semester. A temporary exhibition on that theme, for the duration of the semester, may be in order. A museum can also present such an exhibition in a general manner.

<sup>159</sup>Donald B. Webster, Jr., "A Different Approach to Circulating School Exhibits," *Curator*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1965.

<sup>160</sup>Shotz, "Forming an Educational Alliance," p. 31.

<sup>161</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 69.

<sup>162</sup>Cameron, "The Museum as a Communications System," p. 39.

so that it can be approached through such different disciplines as art, history, geography and humanities.<sup>163</sup> One advantage of these school-related exhibits lies in the possibility of obtaining federal Title III funds to finance the project.<sup>164</sup>

Museologists disagree concerning the use of museum educators to work with school groups. Low noted in 1942 that "for the teacher to bring the children and to turn them over to a museum instructor who knows little or nothing about the children themselves or the work which they are doing is a rather artificial and unsatisfactory practice."<sup>165</sup> While experienced in classroom teaching techniques, however, school teachers do not readily adapt those techniques to a museum situation. The interpretive role of artifacts is especially foreign to formal classroom instruction, and this problem suggests the use of museum educators.

A plan of cooperation which is regarded as the best practice yet developed, provides that the schools assign a teacher to carry on instruction at the museum. The teacher is customarily chosen by the museum director, and she works under his supervision, although her salary is paid by the school department . . . A small institution should be able to carry out its program with the aid of one person on full or part time.<sup>166</sup>

Exhibits at the museum for the benefit of school children are useless if the children cannot get to the museum. Some towns are sufficiently compact that classes can walk to the museum, or even ride bicycles. Many schools are not so lucky, and must rely on automobile transportation. Some schools can use private vehicles for field trips, while others cannot due to insurance considerations. The use of buses for field trips is often strictly limited by finances. In such cases, it is sometimes possible to get a community service organization such as Kiwanis or Lions to sponsor bus transportation to the museum.<sup>167</sup>

Schools often find it simply impracticable to send classes to the museum. A solution to this difficulty is to take the museum to the class. One means of accomplishing this involves the use of a "mobile museum," similar to the common "bookmobile," built into a motor home. The mobile museum can visit each class or school in turn if need be. Also, it soon represents a familiar environment, avoiding the tendency of children to get overly excited

<sup>163</sup>Duane C. Anderson, "Creative Teaching, Temporary Exhibits, and Vitality for the Small Museum," *Curator*, September, 1968, p. 182.

<sup>164</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>165</sup>Low, *The Museum as a Social Instrument*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>166</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 258.

<sup>167</sup>Kathryn E. Gamble, "The Missing Link," *Museum News*, January 1962, p. 32.

on a field trip.<sup>168</sup> Mobile museums are expensive to purchase and outfit, and expensive to maintain and operate, and funds to support such efforts usually have to come through federal grants for education.<sup>169</sup>

A simpler, though perhaps not as effective, approach is for the museum to send a staff member, with appropriate artifacts, to the schools to present the same sort of program that would ordinarily be given at the museum. This can be as little as a lecture illustrated with slides and artifacts, or as complex as a participatory role-playing workshop involving actual "hands-on" experience by the children.<sup>170</sup>

These various techniques should not be regarded as mutually exclusive. A museum can prepare "units" dealing with local history, for the use of the schools. A unit could include written materials, photographs, temporary or permanent exhibits at the museum or the school, slides, films, loaned artifacts, a mobile museum, public media programming, lists of local historic sites; in short, the full range of interpretive programs available.<sup>171</sup> The goal is to stimulate the school children, to the best of the museum's ability, with available resources.

Whatever school programs a museum decides to implement, teachers and administrators must be aware of the museum offerings if they are to be effective. Letters tend to get no farther than the superintendent's office. The Denver Museum of Natural History holds an evening open house to acquaint teachers and principals with its various school programs.<sup>172</sup>

A last rewarding form of school program stems from the paraphrase, "Ask not what your museum can do for the schools, but what the schools can do for your museum!" Especially with high school and college students, needed museum projects can be fulfilled by young people at the same time that they are completing their school work, to the mutual benefit of students and museum.

The famous "Foxfire" project is an outstanding example of this on the high school level. Foxfire had its origins in the belief of Eliot Wigginton, a teacher, that "in most cases the most rewarding and significant things that happen to a kid happen outside the classroom."<sup>173</sup> The truth of this belief is evidenced by simple

<sup>168</sup>Carol Supplee, "Museums on Wheels," *Museum News*, October 1974, p. 29.

<sup>169</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>170</sup>Mary Sam Ward, "Henry Clay Day: The Ultimate Field Trip," *Museum News*, October 1971, p. 37.

<sup>171</sup>Dr. Doris Platt, "A Contribution to Classroom History Study," *Museum News*, February 1967, p. 35.

<sup>172</sup>Robbins, *America's Museums: The Belmont Report*, p. 10.

<sup>173</sup>Eliot Wigginton, ed., *Foxfire 2* (Garden City, N. Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1973), p. 14.

reflection; how much do you remember of your high school classes? Wigginton's reasoning went on to ask how better to teach journalism than through having the students conduct oral history projects? How better to teach history than through visits to historic sites, especially when the students are responsible for recording those sites? The result is the *Foxfire* series, now in its fourth volume.

This technique can be used in any community, without the need to publish a book. Students can interview older citizens, document traditional activities, and record industrial and architectural features.

A community college or university can also be very helpful to a museum. The museum can gain an exhibit through a unique form of cooperation, in which students in a pertinent course, such as history or anthropology, design an exhibit in lieu of a final examination.<sup>171</sup> The exhibit theme is specified, then teams of students work on different aspects of the exhibit; actual display, audio-visual system, a catalogue, and so on. The museum benefits through the exhibit, and the students gain a deep insight into the topic, as well as some comprehension of the details of museum work.

As though collection, preservation, exhibition, and interpretation were not enough to keep the small museum occupied, a number of peripheral activities are laid at the small museum's doorstep, more or less by default. The museum may sponsor historic house tours, or treks to various historic sites around town.<sup>172</sup> Museums are also often instrumental in placing historic markers at appropriate locations, either to explain an existing feature or to commemorate one now vanished.<sup>173</sup>

A less glamorous duty, but one more vital, involves the survey and recording of local historic, archaeological, architectural, and industrial sites. This is a time-consuming task, without immediate benefits, but it is precisely because it is time consuming that it is so essential that the work be done now, for there will be no time to do it when the highway or mine is already under construction. There is no money to finance such surveys, and since the small museum staff is already in the community, they are the ones who will have to get the job done.<sup>174</sup>

Locating an archaeological site is one thing, conducting the actual sub-surface investigations is quite another. This should not

<sup>171</sup> Stephan F. De Borhegyi, "A Primitive Art Exhibit by University Students," *Curator*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1961, pp. 7-8.

<sup>172</sup> Parker, *A Manual for History Museums*, p. 122.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>174</sup> John D. Tyler, "Industrial Archeology and the Museum Curator," *Museum News*, January 1969, pp. 31-32.

be undertaken except under expert supervision, whether the museum is engaged in historic or prehistoric archaeology, for vital information can be lost through over-enthusiastic amateur efforts.<sup>178</sup> The museum can, however, locate and identify such sites, and notify the state archaeologist.

Industrial archaeology is not what its name implies, as it rarely involves sub-surface investigation. Local industrial history is often neglected, and it is the responsibility of museum workers to record the physical remains of that history, with tape measure, drafting board, and camera, as well as by collecting movable artifacts.<sup>179</sup> Some industrial sites may merit inclusion in the federal government's Historic American Engineering Record; the state preservation officer can assist local museums with such determinations.

Architectural recording is also important. Some structures may be worthy of being listed with either the Historic American Buildings Survey or the National Register of Historic Places; again, the state preservation officer will advise local museums. Even if not of national significance, buildings may be worthy of recognition due to local importance.

Besides simply recording, small museums may become actively involved in historic preservation. They may seek to save an historic structure either by making it into a museum headquarters or by moving it to the museum grounds. Alternately, the museum may further efforts to protect historic structures through the creation of historic districts, coupled with architectural zoning limitations.<sup>180</sup>

It is important to remember, however, that these activities are secondary to the main functions of the museum. They need to be done, and the local museum is the most likely agency to become involved. Nonetheless, the real work of the museum comes first, and only when that work is progressing smoothly should energies be diverted into these supplemental projects. It is a wise small museum that works through other community organizations and school groups to accomplish the non-essential but important functions that lie outside its main purpose.

Thus, collection, preservation, exhibition, and interpretive programs are all integral parts of a small museum's task of explaining local history to its audience. The ideas presented here facilitate this interpretive role. The key point to remember is that these guidelines, agreed upon by museologists and active museum professionals, can be attained by small museums. "Modern museum practices are within the province and means of most museums now

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<sup>178</sup>Parker, *A Manual for History Museums*, p. 120.

<sup>179</sup>Tyler, "Industrial Archeology and the Museum Curator," p. 3t.

<sup>180</sup>Stephen W. Jacobs, "Architectural Preservation in the United States: The Government's Role," *Curator*, December, 1965, p. 327.

open to the public."<sup>181</sup> Each museum will have its own flavor, but all museums of whatever size can subscribe to these general principles arrived at through past experience.

An ever present menace to the success of any new endeavor is the person who insists that "in *this* town conditions are peculiar," and that, in consequence, it is not possible to follow the experience of others in similar undertakings. There is at least one respect in which all communities are alike: they are all peculiar.<sup>182</sup>

### THE SMALL HISTORY MUSEUM IN WYOMING

The nature of Wyoming's small history museums, as of 1974, is revealed by a survey conducted in 1973 and 1974. Appendix A contains the names of the thirty-seven museums consulted, and the dates of the interviews. Appendix B presents the questionnaire form itself.

Several citizens groups in the throes of establishing new museums were interviewed, but not included as their institutions were too young to provide any answers to the questionnaire. The Rockpile Museum in Gillette, while not open at the time of the interview, was just completing a new structure. This indicates a certain permanence, and so the Rockpile Museum is included. The Museum of the Mountain Men lacked even a building, but is well advanced in its interpretive planning, and so is also included.

Question 25 of the questionnaire covered the security arrangements of each museum. This data is omitted, partly because it is only marginally pertinent to the question of interpretation, and partly because the publication of such information may itself pose a threat to museum security!

It is not practical to include the actual completed questionnaire for each museum. Instead, the information from the survey has been included in tabular form, and the narrative analysis of the museums is in reference to Tables One through Nine.

The general philosophy of each museum was explored by Questions 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, and to a certain extent, by Question 7 as well. Table 1 presents these responses.

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<sup>181</sup>Margaret W. M. Schaeffer, "the Display Function of the Small Museum," *Curator*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1965, p. 104.

<sup>182</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 18.

TABLE I  
GENERAL PHILOSOPHY

THEME <sup>a</sup>	PRIO- RITY <sup>b</sup>	AUDI- ENCE <sup>c</sup>	VISIT. <sup>d</sup>	HOURS/WEEK <sup>e</sup>	
				40, all year	40 summer, 20 winter
School Children				XX	XX
Local Adults				XX	XX
Tourists				XX	XX
School Children	1	1	1	55	
Local Adults	2	1	1	30	15
Tourists	2	1	1	25	25
Exhibition	3	3	1	450	10
Interpretation	3	3	1	300	10
Preservation	4	4	1	300	80
Collection	4	4	1	300	80
Exhibition	4	4	1	300	80
Interpretation	4	4	1	300	80
Preservation	4	4	1	300	80
Collection	4	4	1	300	80
Thematic History	4	4	1	300	80
Western History	4	4	1	300	80
Wyoming History	4	4	1	300	80
Local History	4	4	1	300	80
Site History	4	4	1	300	80
General History	4	4	1	300	80
Anna Miller					
Arapahoe Cultural Armory					
Blythe & Fargo Store					
Bradford Brinton Memorial					
Buffalo Bill Historical Rockpile Museum					
Carbon County Crook County Fort Caspar Historic Site					
Frederick Museum Fremont County Pioneer Glendo Historical Grand Encampment Greybull Museum					

<sup>2</sup>These classifications are based on questionnaire responses and official museum literature, and represent either specific or implied intent.

These are rough categories. Thus, "40, all year" may indicate many more or slightly fewer than forty open hours per week. "Appt. winter" indicates either that a museum is open in the winter by appointment only, or that the regularly scheduled hours are very few. If a museum's hours fall between forty and twenty hours per week, they are assigned to the nearest category.

Fully half of Wyoming's small museums are devoted to local history. A significant proportion, 27 per cent, is composed of museums organized not by area, but instead along thematic lines, such as homesteading. A smaller number, 21 per cent of the whole, deal with history on the state or even regional level. Four museums are based on an historic site, but each of these presents the site as a segment of a larger aspect of history.

Fourteen institutions detailed specific means of accomplishing their ends, in stating their general theme. Eight museums expressed a concern for the collection of artifacts, and six emphasized preservation of such materials. Only three indicated interest in interpretation, and exhibition was mentioned by only two museums in their statement of purpose. This emphasis on the collections rather than on using the collections is presented even more clearly in the museums' ranking of the relative priorities of the four basic museum functions: collection, preservation, exhibition, and interpretation.

Each museum was asked to rate the varying importance of these functions, with "1" representing the highest priority and "4" the lowest. Adding the numbers assigned to each function together and dividing that sum by the number of respondents provides an average priority value for each function. The lower that average number, the greater that function's worth in the estimation of Wyoming's small museums. Preservation was deemed most important, with an average value of 1.83. Collection and exhibition virtually tied for second place, with values of 2.47 and 2.38 respectively, and interpretation lagged behind at 2.86.

It is significant that 50 per cent of the small museums cited preservation as their primary goal, while only one museum located it in last place. On the other hand, 39 per cent thought of interpretation as their *least* important function. Some might consider exhibition the *raison d'etre* of museums, but this is not reflected in the responses. While 22 per cent of the museums selected exhibition as their main concern, exactly the same proportion placed it last. Collection was similarly divided. Generally, then, Wyoming's small museums are more concerned with the artifacts in their collections, than with the utilization of those artifacts.

The small museums also indicated priorities in serving various publics: tourists, local adults, and school children. Again, the lower the average figure, the greater the importance of that group. Tourists, with a value of 1.67, were seen as only slightly more important than school children, with a value of 1.78. Local adults lagged by the same margin, at 1.89. Forty-eight per cent of the surveyed museums selected tourists as their first priority; the same percentage chose school children as theirs. Essentially, the small museums devote nearly equal attention to the entire visiting public, with only slightly less concern with local adults. These figures are

somewhat affected, however, by the consideration that the two largest museums, judged in terms of annual visitation, both selected tourists as of prime importance.

Established visitation hours do not necessarily reflect the audience priorities of a museum. At first glance, it might be assumed that a museum that closes in the winter is interested only in the summer tourist traffic. Winter closures can be dictated by a number of factors, however, including lack of heat in galleries, inaccessibility due to snow, and simply visitation figures so low as to make open hours a waste of staff time. Study of visitation hours does indicate some trends nonetheless. While reduced winter hours are not necessarily an indication of concentration on tourists, year-round hours *are* an indication of a strong attempt to serve the local public. Only eight institutions maintained constant year-round open hours, six being open forty hours or more weekly, the other two being open twenty or more hours each week. Together these two categories represent 22 per cent of Wyoming's small museums, and 11 per cent of the total annual visitation.

A similar number of museums cut their hours in half in the "off-season," three going from forty hours a week in the summer to twenty the rest of the year, five dropping from twenty weekly hours in the summer to less in winter. This category accounts for only seven per cent of the total annual visitation.

Nine museums, 25 per cent of the total, are open forty hours each week in the summer, and essentially closed the rest of the year. Fifty-eight per cent of the total annual visitation is received by these nine institutions. Predictably, the five museums open less than twenty hours weekly account for only .2 per cent of the visitors.

The annual visitation for Wyoming's small museums in 1972 totalled 599,506. This yields a meaningless average figure for each institution of 17,128; meaningless because of the wide range of actual visitation figures. Four museums, 11 per cent, had 100 visitors or fewer in a year. Six museums, 17 per cent, had between 100 and 1000 visitors in 1972. Seventeen institutions, 47 per cent, had between 1000 and 10,000 visitors; if there is a truly "average" visitation figure for the small museums, it is in this "several thousand" range. Another six museums had more than 10,000 but fewer than 100,000 visitors, and two museums topped the list with over 100,000 visitors each in 1972.

This last circumstance is crucial in comprehending Wyoming's visitation patterns. The Buffalo Bill Historical Center and the Fort Caspar Historic Site between them served a staggering 328,000 people in 1972, 55 per cent of the total for that year. Neither of these is open in the winter, further emphasizing the seasonal nature of the museum public.

The estimates of the small museums as to the percentage of their

total attendance drawn from each of the three groups gives a good idea of the actual service provided by the museums. Applying the estimated percentages to each museum's 1972 visitation, and totalling the resulting numbers, yields a composite figure of 408,341 tourists, 95,140 local adults, and 96,677 school children. Thus, 68 per cent of the visitors to the small museums were tourists; local adults and school children each accounted for 16 per cent.

So, while the small museums generally have not set out to concentrate on tourists to the exclusion of local people, in practice, tourists far outnumber local residents in museum attendance. Indeed, the number of tourists passing through the galleries of the small museums in Wyoming actually exceeds the number of permanent residents in the state. The number of local residents visiting the small museums is considerably less, but still over half the total population of Wyoming.

A separate analysis shows that Wyoming's two commercial museums, open only in the summer, account for fully 10 per cent of the total year's visitation. While commercial museums are far from the dominant form in the state, they provide a significant level of service.

Each museum's collections philosophy was determined by Questions 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15. The responses to these questions are represented in Table 2.

Only five of the surveyed museums could boast that their collections were entirely their own; when they are included in the group of museums having 10 per cent or less of their collections on loan, the figure jumps to sixteen, a respectable 43 per cent of Wyoming's small museums. On the other hand, ten museums, 27 per cent of the total, were borrowing half or more of their collections, and four of those actually owned only a quarter or less of "their" artifacts.

This latter group would seem to have a dangerously high percentage of loaned materials in its care. It does not appear, however, that Wyoming museums are experiencing much inconvenience over the loaned items. Twenty-three museums, 64 per cent of the total, currently accept loans when offered, and only four institutions have had many loaned items redeemed by their owners. Even of those four, two still accept loans. Nonetheless, the practice of accepting loans is clearly less prevalent than formerly, as evidenced by the nine museums, 26 per cent of the total, that care for borrowed materials but no longer take loans. It is reasonable to infer that these nine museums had enough difficulty over loans that they felt unwilling to continue accepting them.

Considering the high number of loaned artifacts, surprisingly few of the items actually donated have conditions attached to their use. Eighteen museums, 51 per cent, reported *no* restricted items

TABLE 2  
COLLECTIONS PHILOSOPHY

MUSEUMS	Accepted Percentage Loaned	Accepted Percentage Loaned	few	0	.5	X	Active Solicitation
			no	95	X	0	Percentage Purchased
			few	60	X	50	Conditions Accepted
Anna Miller Museum	50	X	few	0	.5	X	
Arapahoe Cultural Museum	0	X	no	95	X	0	X
Armory Museum	60		few	60	X	50	X
Blythe & Fargo Store	0		no	0		0	
Bradford Brinton Memorial Ranch	2	X	few	0		4	
Buffalo Bill Historical Center	10	X	no	0			X
Rockpile Museum		X			X		X
Carbon County Museum	20		yes	0	X	.5	
Crook County Museum	0	X	no	0	X	25	
Fort Caspar Historic Site & Museum	5		no	10	X	50	
Frederick Museum	3		no	0			
Fremont County Pioneer Museum	10		no	3	X	0	X
Glendo Historical Museum	50	X	few	0	X	2	X
Grand Encampment Museum			no	100	X		
Greybull Museum	75	X	no	10		0	
Homestead Museum		X	no	5	X	50	
Hot Springs County Pioneer Museum		X	no	100	X	0	
Jackson Hole Museum	5		yes	0		.50	
Johnson County-Jim Gatchell Mus.	50	X	no	0		1	
Jolly Roger Museum	33	X	few	33	X	66	
Kemmerer City Museum	90	X	no	0	X	0	X
Laramie Plains Museum	0		no	few	X	0	
Museum of the Mountain Men							X
Natrona County Pioneer Museum	10		few	1	X	0	
Old Trail Town	25	X	few	15	X	50	
Powell Homesteaders Museum	75	X	few	0		0	
Rawlins National Bank Museum	0		no	.5	X	0	X
Riverton Museum	25	X	no	10	X		X
Stage Coach Museum	50	X	no	0		0	
Sweetwater County Historical Mus.	5		no	3		1	X
Tensleep Museum	80	X	no	0		0	X
Teton County History Room	5	X	no				X
Trail End Historical Center	25		few	1		0	X
Uinta County Historical Museum	50	X	yes	0	X	0	
Washakie County Historical Museum	35	X	yes	0		0	X
Warren Military Museum	5	X	no	0		0	X
Weltners Wonder Museum	.4	X	no	0	X	90	

An "X" signifies an affirmative response.

at all. Another eight museums had less than ten per cent of their collections restricted; these two groups comprise 74 per cent of Wyoming's small history museums. Of the remainder, three museums had conditions placed on the use of 95 per cent or more of their collections!

Again, museums have apparently not been troubled by the restrictions. Twenty of them, 56 per cent, accept conditional donations; indeed, six museums with no restricted materials at present are willing to receive such. And, only three museums holding conditional donations have now adopted a policy of not accepting them any more. On the other hand, except for the few museums whose collections are almost entirely restricted, there would be little adverse effect if Wyoming's small museums were to refuse conditional donations. Even those with large numbers of restrictions might find that such stipulations were more "force of habit" than the determining factor in whether a donation was made or not.

The purchase of artifacts is an uncommon means of acquisition for Wyoming's small museums. Sixteen institutions, 46 per cent, had never purchased any artifact. Another six had purchased 10 per cent or less of their collections, bringing to 63 per cent the proportion of small museums making minimal use of purchase for acquisition.

One museum relied on purchase for fully 90 per cent of its holdings; perhaps predictably, that museum was a commercial one. The two commercial museums averaged, between them, 70 per cent of their collections purchased.

Wyoming's curators do not all passively await the donation of historical items. Eighteen museums, 49 per cent, actively solicit donations. Such aggressive acquisitions policies should ensure steadily growing study collections from which to draw exhibits.

Exhibits are central to any consideration of museum interpretation. Questions 8, 9, 10, and 16 gathered objective data concerning exhibits. Table 3 depicts this data. The table also presents the analysis, necessarily subjective, of the types of exhibits used by each institution, as determined by personal observation.

One measure of a museum's interpretive performance is found in the percentage of collections on display. Functional exhibits, the most interpretive of the three types, are highly selective of artifacts; visible storage displays, the least interpretive, are not selective in the least. As the percentage of the collections on exhibit rises, therefore, the interpretive potential of the exhibits *generally* falls. It is conceivable that a museum could acquire *only* those artifacts needed for its functional exhibits, and thus have 100 per cent of its holdings on view and still be wholly interpretive. This "ideal" arrangement would not allow any rotation of exhibits, however, and static exhibits quickly lose their impact.

TABLE 3  
EXHIBITS PHILOSOPHY

	MUSEUMS	Loaned Exhibits	% exhibits changed	% exhibits not pertinent	% Collections on exhibit	From			Type	
						Smithsonian	Local	Wyo. State	I	II
Anna Miller Museum	60	5	50	X		X	X		X	X
Arapahoe Cultural Museum	95	0	10						X	X
Armory Museum	80	0	5						X	X
Blythe & Fargo Store	100	0	0						X	X
Bradford Brinton Memorial	66	0	15							X
Buffalo Bill Historical Cntr.	100	0	10	X	X	X	X		X	X
Rockpile Museum	.....	.....	.....							
Carbon County Museum	75	0	10	X					X	X
Crook County Museum	75	0	50						X	X
Fort Caspar Historic Site	95	60	5						X	X
Frederick Museum	100	1	0						X	
Fremont County Pioneer	90	95	90	X					X	X
Glendo Historical Museum	75	0	0						X	X
Grand Encampment Museum	90	0	15						X	X
Greybull Museum	90	0	15						X	X
Homestead Museum	90	25	0						X	X
Hot Springs County Museum	100	0	0						X	X
Jackson Hole Museum	90	8	10						X	X
Johnson County-Jim Gatebell	85	5	10	X		X			X	X
Jolly Roger Museum	100	0	0						X	X
Kemmerer City Museum	100	0	0						X	
Laramie Plains Museum	95	0	100						X	X
Museum of the Mountain Men	.....	.....	.....							X
Natrona County Pioneer	98	0	100						X	
Old Trail Town	90	4	15						X	X
Powell Homesteaders Museum	50	0	0						X	
Rawlins National Bank Museum	100	0	0						X	
Riverton Museum	80	0	50	X	X	X			X	X
Stage Coach Museum	75	0	50	X		X			X	X
Sweetwater County Historical	50	0								X
Tensleep Museum	100	0	0						X	
Teton County History Room	30	10	0							
Trail End Historical Center	50	10	20	X		X			X	X
Uinta County Historical	90	0	0						X	X
Washakie County Historical	100	5	0							
Warren Military Museum	30	0	20	X		X	X			X
Weltner Wonder Museum	99	0	25						X	X

Few of Wyoming's small museums practice much selection in their exhibits. The statewide average indicates 82.7 per cent of collections are on exhibit. Nine museums, 26 per cent of the total, have all their collections on display. Another 34 per cent, twelve institutions, display between 90 and 99 per cent of all they own; these two categories account for 60 per cent of Wyoming's small museums. Those displaying between 70 and 89 per cent of their materials represent another 20 per cent; all told, 95 per cent of the museums display half or more of their collections. The lowest proportion, 30 per cent, is displayed by two museums, a mere 5 per cent of the total.

With so many articles on view, rotation of exhibits will necessarily be difficult. An average of the statewide response suggests that 19.3 per cent of exhibits are periodically changed. Three museums claimed they changed between 90 and 100 per cent of their displays; all three indicated they had 90 per cent or more of their collections on exhibit. It is hard to picture much actual rotation of collections going on, with no real study collections from which to draw.

Most museums surveyed rotate far fewer of their exhibits. Nine institutions, 26 per cent of the total, change between 10 and 19 per cent of their displays. This is the highest category of actual changes; the largest single response showed that twelve museums, 34 per cent, *never* changed any displays.

Most of the museums feel their exhibits pertain very closely to their stated themes. Sixty-nine per cent of the interviewees, twenty-four, indicated that 100 per cent of their displays were pertinent. Another seven museums, 20 per cent, had only one to 10 per cent of their exhibits not closely related to their theme. At the other end of the scale, one museum felt 95 per cent of its exhibits were outside its stated province! If these figures do not simply represent wishful thinking on the part of the interviewees, Wyoming's small museums have admirably restricted their exhibits to those topics within the realm of their purposes.

Not all the small museums rely solely upon their own resources for their exhibits. Eleven museums, 31 per cent, made use of loaned exhibits to enhance their interpretive efforts. Of the eleven, six museums used only one source for their borrowed shows, four used two sources, and one used three.

Eight institutions secured loan exhibits from local citizens. Three borrowed exhibits from the Wyoming State Museum, two used the Smithsonian Institution Travelling Exhibition Service (SITES), and one borrowed from another local museum. Other lenders were the Thomas A. Edison Foundation, the Shared Touring Exhibit Program, and the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology.

The quality of exhibits is naturally much more difficult to establish than their quantity. Furthermore, most museums utilize more

than a single type, complicating the analysis. Despite the difficulty, the classification must be attempted, for otherwise there can be no measure of the interpretive use actually made of the study collections. Exhibit Type I, visible storage, consists of simple display of objects, without interpretation. Type II, systematic displays, is object-oriented but didactic in purpose and effect. Type III, functional exhibits, includes both theme-centered displays and period rooms.

Nineteen museums, 57 per cent of the total, used visible storage displays. Six museums used such displays exclusively. Systematic displays were employed by twenty museums, 61 per cent. Functional exhibits were found in twenty-four museums, 73 per cent. This high figure is somewhat misleading, for the presence of even one period room or similar period grouping warranted inclusion as a functional exhibit, and period rooms are quite popular. Despite this, nine museums lacked any functional exhibits at all, and only four were possessed entirely of such displays. Ten others, 27 per cent, while mixing systematic and functional exhibits, avoided the visible storage displays altogether.

Thus, the use of interpretive exhibits by Wyoming's small museums is not especially widespread. The common practice of displaying virtually the entire collection renders the interpretation of that collection very difficult. While most of the displays pertain to the museums' themes, only fourteen institutions completely eschewed the uninterpretive visible storage, and ten of those used the marginally-interpretive systematic display form. Whatever the type of exhibit, changes or rotation are infrequent, and borrowed shows from outside sources are even more so.

Interpretive use of collections is primarily dependent on the energy and imagination of the staff, placing a premium on the personnel resources of each institution. Questions 22, 24, 27, 28, and 29 investigated different aspects of small museum staffing; Table 4 lists the responses.

Wyoming's small museums employ a total of 114 full and part-time employees. This yields an average figure of 3.08 paid workers per museum. This average is misleading, however, because of the large staffs at the Bradford Brinton Memorial (14) and the Buffalo Bill Historical Center (39). When these two are excluded, a more representative average of 1.74 employees at each museum is obtained.

With the exception of the two museums above, there is a relatively narrow range in employment patterns. Four institutions, eleven per cent of the total, employ five people. The same number employ four, and three, and one. Six museums, 16 per cent, have two employees. An inauspicious sign is the large group of fourteen museums, 38 per cent of the total, with *no* paid help whatsoever.

TABLE 4  
PERSONNEL

		MUSEUMS										
		Experts					Volunteers					
Director's background	Staff	Identification		Value estimates		Bldg. repairs		Publicity		Operations		
		1	1	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	
		9	14	39	39	14	14	0	0	0	0	
		2	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	
		1	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	
		2	2	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	
		3	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	
		1	1	4	4	5	5	0	0	0	0	
		1	1	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	
		1	1	3	3	4	4	1	1	1	1	

Jolly Roger Museum	1	4	5	X	X			X
Kemmerer City Museum	1	2	3	X	X			X
Laramie Plains Museum	3	1	4	X	X	X	X	X
Mountain Men Natrona County Pioneer Museum	3	1	1	X	X	X	X	X
Old Trail Town	1	0	1	X	X	X	X	X
Powell Homesteaders Museum	1	0	1	X	X	X	X	X
Rawlins National Bank Museum	1	1	2	X	X	X	X	X
Riverton Museum	2	2	3	X	X	X	X	X
Stage Coach Museum	2	2	3	X	X	X	X	X
Sweetwater County Historical Museum	0	0	0	X	X	X	X	X
Tensleep Museum	0	0	0	X	X	X	X	X
Teton County History Room	0	0	0	X	X	X	X	X
Trail End Historical Center	0	0	0	X	X	X	X	X
Uinta County Historical Museum	0	0	0	X	X	X	X	X
Washakie County Historical Museum	0	0	0	X	X	X	X	X
Warren Military Museum	2	3	5	X	X	X	X	X
Welchner Wonder Museum	2	3	5	X	X	X	X	X

An even larger group of twenty-five museums, 68 per cent of the total, have no full-time paid staff. Seven museums, nineteen per cent, have one full-time employee, and three more have two each. The Buffalo Bill Historical Center has nine full-time staff members, placing it in a special class by itself. This represents twenty-five full-time people, at twelve institutions. On a state average, there would be .68 full time museum workers in each small museum. Including only those museums that actually do have full-time help, and excluding the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, that average is 1.45.

Twenty-two museums employed among them 89 part-time workers, while fifteen museums, 41 per cent, used none at all. A statewide average would be 2.41 part-time employees per museum, but including only those institutions actually employing such help, the average rises to 4.05. The Buffalo Bill Historical Center, with thirty part-timers, and the Bradford Brinton Memorial, with fourteen, represent the high end of the employment spectrum; the other small museums all employ fewer than five part-time workers. Three museums have four each, and six museums, 16 per cent of the total, have three each. Another four museums each have two part-time employees, and seven, 19 per cent, have one. Excluding the Bradford Brinton Memorial and the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, those museums that hire part-time people average 2.25 such employees each.

The overall personnel pattern, then, emerges as one of one-and-two-person museum staffs, the majority of which are part-time. A significant 38 per cent of the small museums have no paid staff, and a majority, 68 per cent, have no one on full-time. Year-to-year continuity in the interpretive program is difficult to achieve under such circumstances.

The director of each museum, paid or volunteer, assumes even greater importance in view of the small staffs generally involved. Often the director *is* the staff. Therefore, the backgrounds of each director shed some light on each museum's character.

Some of the museum officers interviewed got involved with their museums indirectly, as a result of some other activity. Five were involved by virtue of holding an office in the historical society related to their museums. Four were running museums primarily as a function of employment; that is, either the museum was a sideline to other duties for which they were actually hired, or they viewed the museum simply as the source of their livelihood, a job like any other. Another five, active in community service in the past, had been asked to take on museum responsibility as another facet of that involvement.

Twenty respondents, 54 per cent, cited "interest" as a motivating force in their association with museums. Seven were collectors, and entered through that interest. Four of the museum people, 11

per cent, had college coursework leading to museum work, three (8 per cent) had museum training, either in school or in seminars, and seven (19 per cent) had actual past museum experience.

Museologists praise museum experience, museum training, and college coursework as being the best means of preparing for a museum career. No neat correlation can be drawn, however, between this background and interpretive exhibits. Fourteen of Wyoming's small museums had no visible storage displays, and restricted themselves to systematic and functional exhibits, both interpretive. Of the fourteen, eight directors had museum training or experience or college coursework, and six did not, showing conclusively that effective museum interpretation can be achieved by people lacking specialized museum backgrounds.

Some correlations *can* be established, however. Four small museums had highly interpretive functional exhibits exclusively; one of those was contracting its exhibit work to an out-of-state firm, and so cannot be examined with the others. Of the remaining three, two directors had museum backgrounds, one did not, but his institution had close ties to the Wyoming State Museum.

Nineteen small museums had at least some completely uninterpretive visible storage displays. Of the nineteen, only two were directed by individuals with museum backgrounds. Thus, while such training and experience does not guarantee interpretive museums, it helps greatly in avoiding the least effective techniques, and goes a long way toward improving historical interpretation.

Three of the institutions having only interpretive exhibits, one of those having only highly interpretive functional exhibits, have no paid help. That these museums can set such a high interpretive standard without professional direction is a tribute to their volunteer staffs. Twenty-six museums, 70 per cent of the total, use volunteers in some way. These donated hours represent a considerable commitment of energy in support of local institutions. The surveyed museums reported an average weekly total of 630.75 donated hours, a weekly average of 17.05 volunteer hours per museum. Since eleven museums do not use volunteers, the average for those museums with volunteers is actually 24.26 donated hours each week, or the equivalent of a free half-time staff member.

Ten museums, 27 per cent, reported volunteers donating ten or less hours weekly. Five museums had between thirty and forty weekly volunteer hours; one reported an astounding 195 average weekly hours!

Despite this level of volunteer activity, no museum has organized its volunteers into an association.

Volunteers perform many duties in the small museums. The most common volunteer activity is guiding, a service provided in ten museums, 38 per cent of the total. Almost as many museums,

TABLE 5  
FINANCING

Owner	MUSEUMS	
	Budget (\$)	Income, %
	Expenses, %	
United States		X
State of Wyoming		X
County		X
City/Town		X
Other		X
Museum owns land		
Other		
Purchase		
Programs		
Publications		
Publicity		
Maintenance		
Salaries		
Donations		
Admissions		
Sales desk		
Publications		
Historical Society		
City/town		
County		
State of Wyoming		
United States		
Other		



nine, use volunteer receptionists. Six museums, 23 per cent, use volunteers for *all* aspects of their operations, and another six use volunteers to perform needed maintenance. Five museums have volunteer exhibit help, three use volunteers in collection management, and three use volunteers for general assistance. Only one institution allowed volunteers to do research for it.

On the other hand, most of Wyoming's small museums call on outside experts when needed, only sixteen museums, 43 per cent of the total, not using such resources. The most common use of experts by far, is for identification of artifacts, seventeen museums reporting this practice. Other uses of community experts included valuation of the collections, needed repair work, public relations and help with general operations.

The decision to use or not use volunteers, of course, often depends on a museum's budget. Questions 18, 19, 20, and 21 dealt with matters of finance; Table 5 gives the data collected. Four of the museums contacted declined to discuss their budgets; two were commercial operations, while one was a county agency and one was a private non-profit institution. Data for the latter two can of course be obtained, as they are each required by law to make annual reports available to the public. In view of their obvious desire to not make this information known, only the facts they expressly provided have been listed. In addition, three other museums had highly variable budgets, and the directors of four others did not know the nature of the budget they were working under. Despite these limitations on the available information, certain trends are discernible.

Seven small museums, 19 per cent of the total, had no budget at all! A statewide survey, admittedly based on imperfect data, yields an average for each museum of \$6971.88. Eight museums, 22 per cent, had budgets between \$100 and \$5000; another eight had annual incomes between \$5001 and \$20,000. One museum had \$23,557, and another \$50,000.

Funding sources are similarly varied. Twelve museums had only one source of income. While the others had more than a single source, only four had diversified enough to boast even a 25 per cent to 75 per cent division. Eight museums, 22 per cent, were primarily county funded. Five museums were financed mainly by town or city governments. Another museum received the majority of its money from the local school district, bringing to 39 per cent the proportion of Wyoming's small museums operated by local governments. In terms of dollars, these museums account for 60 per cent of the statewide budgets.

Ten museums received contributed money, but only three relied upon donations as their main support. Four of the state's small museums, 11 per cent, required admission fees. These fees were the main income for all four. Two of these are commercial mu-

seums, two are private non-profit organizations; none gave any figures.

Five museums received monies from historical societies, and three had this as their primary support. One museum was entirely supported by a membership program. Four museums reported income from sales desks, and one from publications. This income was relatively minor.

Expenses for all museums centered around salaries and maintenance. While twenty-three museums had no payroll, those that did, averaged 57 per cent of their annual budgets to meet it. Twenty-one museums lacked maintenance budgets, and maintenance swallowed an average 41 per cent of the year's money for those that did. The five museums with programs averaged 9 per cent of their budgets spent on them, and the three museums with publications used, on the average, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of their annual budget to support them. Three museums allocated money for purchases, averaging 35 per cent of their annual budgets for that purpose.

Fourteen of the state's small museums, 39 per cent, owned the land under their buildings. Those museums not owning the land are nonetheless secure, with all but one of them being situated on government property. Ten, 28 per cent, were located on county land, with another 19 per cent, seven institutions, being on city or town land. Three others were on state land, and one was on property of the federal government. The one museum not on governmental land is located on church property.

Operational factors other than finances and land ownership can affect a museum's ability to function efficiently. Questions 17, 23, 41, and 42 inquired into matters pertaining to collections, records, board organization, and utilization of available informational resources. The results are shown in Table 6.

Despite the importance of complete documentation of the collections, 17 per cent of the small museums, six institutions, had no records at all. Eleven museums, 31 per cent, maintained inventories, and six of those had no records beyond that. Donor files were maintained at eleven museums, and accession files at ten. Nine museums kept accession books, and four of those maintained no other records. Nine institutions had a catalog besides their other files.

Governing boards are found in most institutions. Nine museums, 24 per cent of the total, had no such board; seven of those were owned by individuals, one was a town museum, and one was a military unit endeavor. Sixteen per cent of the small museums, six institutions, had county boards; only four museums had town-appointed boards. Nine institutions were under historical society boards, and five more had boards drawn from a museum association. Only one museum had a multi-agency board, while

TABLE 6  
OPERATIONS

		MUSEUMS		ORGANIZATIONS	
		Museum Contact	Records	Board	Organizations
CWAM					x
AAM					x
AASLH					xx
WSHS					x
Other					x
Loans/trades				x	xx
Brochures					x
Casual contact				x	x
Closest museums				x	x
Wyo. State Museum				x	x
Buffalo Bill				x	x
County board				x	x
City/town board				x	x
Society board				x	x
Museum assoc. board				x	x
Multi-agency board			x	x	x
A board (no details)			x	x	x
Inventory			x	x	x
Catalogue			x	x	x
Donor file			x	x	x
Accession file			x	x	x
Accession book			x	x	x

Anna Miller Museum  
Arapahoe Cultural Museum  
Armor Museum  
Blythe & Fargo Store  
Bradford Brinton Memorial Ranch  
Buffalo Bill Historical Center  
Carbon County Museum  
Crook County Museum  
Fort Caspar Historic Site  
Frederick Museum  
Fremont County Pioneer Museum  
Glendo Historical Museum  
Grand Encampment Museum  
Greybull Museum  
Homestead Museum  
Hot Springs County Pioneer Museum  
Jackson Hole Museum



five others were vague as to the exact nature of their governing body. Thus, 38 per cent of the small museums are actually governed by private societies, as opposed to 27 per cent operated by local government boards.

No small museum need stand alone, for other museums and various museum-related organizations are always willing to assist. Nonetheless, many small Wyoming museums choose to isolate themselves.

Loans or trades between museums were found in only two places. Eight museums, 22 per cent, had contact only with their closest neighboring museum, and only five museums took the simple step of exchanging brochures. Six museums had only casual contact with other institutions, generally in the form of touring the others' galleries when in town. And, thirteen museums, 35 per cent of the total, had absolutely *no* contact with other museums.

Two museums were consulted by smaller neighbors for advice and help. The Wyoming State Museum was listed as a resource by six small museums, 16 per cent of the whole, including one toward the north of the state. Three other museums looked instead to the Buffalo Bill Historical Center for assistance. These three were fairly close to Cody.

The record of association with professional organizations is even less impressive. Sixteen museums, 43 per cent of the total, had no contact with any associations. Four were members of the American Association of Museums, and six belonged to the American Association for State and Local History. The most accessible of the professional organizations, however, the Colorado-Wyoming Association of Museums, had only five members among the small museums. The Wyoming State Historical Society claimed the most members, with nine museums, 24 per cent of the total, belonging.

Each organization has unique strengths, but only two museums belonged to three different groups. Five museums held two memberships, and fourteen held only one.

Wyoming's small history museums are somewhat more outgoing when dealing with the public. Questions 26, 30, 35, and 36 looked at areas of informational contact with the public at large, beyond the exhibit floors of the museums. Table 7 lists the responses.

Twelve museums, 34 per cent of the whole, were involved in oral history programs. Nineteen institutions, 54 per cent, maintained manuscript collections, and seventeen museums had libraries. Fourteen museums, 40 per cent of those surveyed, had both a library and an archives. Eleven museums had no such holdings or activities.

Publications offer a means of reaching a larger public than might visit a given building, but cost considerations can restrict this form of interpretation. Over half of the small museums in the

state, twenty, had no form of publications. For those that did publish, the most common product was a brochure, with eleven museums, 31 per cent, distributing some sort of brochure. Five museums printed booklets about local history or their collections, and three sold post cards depicting their exhibits or their collections. One published an annual report, one put out a walking tour, and two ran regular newspaper columns.

The line between publications and publicity is often hard to draw, and perhaps need not be drawn at all. Virtually all the small museums are involved in one form of publicity or another, only two museums refraining completely. The most common publicity form, used by fully 66 per cent of the small museums, twenty-three institutions, is newspaper coverage. Almost as many, nineteen, used radio to advertise their offerings. Twelve museums, 34 per cent, printed their own brochures, and another twelve were included in local community brochures.

Private signs advertised ten small museums, 29 per cent, but only two used official highway department road signs. Six museums distributed posters about themselves, while five combined publicity and sales with post cards. Five small museums were listed in regional guidebooks, and four were included in the national guides for motorists. Four advertised in national publications. Only three museums had ever used television promotion. Two institutions were shown on placemat-maps placed in restaurants and stores.

The small museums were not content with just one publicity form, averaging 3.26 publicity types each. This level of activity suggests a real concern with informing the public of the availability of the museums.

These informational activities are not the only possibilities for outreach. The small museums undertake a broad range of programs and activities, and the extent of these was measured by Questions 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39, and 40. Table 8 presents the survey results.

Many museums participated in community celebrations or fairs. Five of them sponsored such affairs. While local historical societies often present speakers, seven of the small museums, 19 per cent of those in the state, sponsored public lectures on their own. Only three of the museums offered classes.

Tours are a popular form of extension activity in small museums. While six museums offered none, the same number gave *all* visitors a tour. Another six toured school groups only, but seventeen institutions, 47 per cent, offered tours to anyone requesting one.

Ten museums were involved in outside activities somewhat peripheral to the museum itself, though within the bounds of stated themes. Two provided self-guided tours of their communities,

TABLE 7  
INFORMATION

Newspapers	xxx	xxxxx	xxx	
Private signs		x	xxxxx	x
Official signs		x		
Regional guidebooks	xx		x	
National guidebooks			x	x
National publications				x
Museum brochures	x	xx	x	xx
Local brochures	x	x	x	xx
Radio	xxx	xx	x	x
Television				x
Posters	x		x	x
Post cards		x	x	x
Placemats/maps			x	x
Other	x	x		x
Newspaper columns	x			
Annual reports				
Booklets		x	xx	
Post cards		x		
Brochures	x	xx	x	xx
Walking tours				x
Other		x		
Library	xxx	xxx		xxx
Manuscripts	xxxxx	x		xxx
Oral history	xx	xx	x	x

MUSEUMS

- Anna Miller Museum
- Arapahoe Cultural Museum
- Armory Museum
- Blythe & Fargo Store
- Bradford Brinton Memorial Ranch
- Buffalo Bill Historical Center
- Carbon County Museum
- Crook County Museum
- Fort Casper Historic Site
- Frederick Museum
- Fremont County Pioneer Museum
- Glenwood Historical Museum
- Grand Encampment Museum
- Greybull Museum
- Homestead Museum
- Hot Springs County Pioneer Museum
- Jackson Hole Museum



TABLE 8  
PROGRAMS

School Activity	Tours	Outside	Loaned exhibits		
Field trips				X	X
Slide programs				X	X
Research grants					
College seminars				X	X
Loaned exhibits			X		
Speakers				X	X
Traveling exhibits				X	X
Museum-mobile				X	X
Tours				X	X
Schools				X	X
Libraries				X	X
Other museums			X		
Celebrations/fairs			X		
Businesses					
Local citizens					X
Archaeology				X	
Historical treks		X	X		
Historical markers		X	X		
Self-guided tours					
All visitors		X	X		
School groups		X	X		
By request only		X	X		
Speakers	X	X	X		
Classes					
Celebrations				X	X

MUSEUMS

- Anna Miller Museum
- Arapahoe Cultural Museum
- Armory Museum
- Blythe & Fargo Store
- Bradford Brinton Memorial Ranch
- Buffalo Bill Historical Center
- Carbon County Museum
- Crook County Museum
- Fort Caspar Historic Site
- Fredenick Museum
- Fremont County Pioneer Museum
- Glendo Historical Museum
- Grand Encampment Museum
- Greybull Museum
- Homestead Museum
- Hot Springs County Pioneer Museum
- Jackson Hole Museum
- Johnson County-Jim Gatchell Museum
- Jolly Roger Museum

Kemmerer City Museum	X
Laramie Plains Museum	X
Museum of the Mountain Men	X
Old Trail Town	X
Powell Homeleaders Museum	X
Rawlins National Bank Museum	X
Riverton Museum	X
Rockpile Museum	X
Stage Coach Museum	X
Sweetwater County Historical Museum	X
Tensleep Museum	X
Teton County History Room	X
Trail End Historical Center	X
Uinta County Historical Museum	X
Washakie County Historical Museum	X
Warren Military Museum	X
Weliner Wonder Museum	X

and five arranged guided tours or "treks" to historic sites. Another five museums were active in the placement of historical markers, and two carried out archaeological investigations. Four of the ten museums sponsored more than one category of these outside activities.

Nine small museums, 25 per cent of those in Wyoming, occasionally loan out exhibits. Four provided displays for celebrations and fairs, and two loaned to other museums. Two of the small museums placed exhibits in libraries, and the same number put them in schools. One museum loaned exhibits to businesses, and one even loaned items to private individuals.

School service is by far the favorite extension activity of Wyoming's small museums. Sixty-four per cent of them engage in at least one school activity, with only thirteen places offering none. And tours are a near-universal component of such service, as 21 of the 23 museums involved provide them.

The small museums do not restrict themselves to tours alone. Seven museums supplied classroom speakers, and two offered slide programs. One put traveling exhibits in schools, and another loaned suitcase exhibits to teachers. Three museums took students on field trips. One museum operated a museum-mobile.

The majority of the museums focused on elementary school service, with some programs for high school students. One museum, however, worked with college-age students, offering both college seminars and research grants.

Essentially, the tours can be regarded as a "given," a service most museums automatically furnish, representing no particular commitment to school service. Of the twenty-three museums working with schools, thirteen offered only one form of service, in each case that being a tour. Seven museums, however, offered two programs each, and two offered three. One museum was involved in five different forms of school service; it received over half its budget from the school district.

School services, extension programs, exhibits, and collections are all part of the varied activities of the small museums of Wyoming. It is natural that museum staffs periodically engage in self-examination of themselves and their institutions. The answers to Questions 43, 44, and 45 reflect this self analysis, and are represented in Table 9.

The small museums are all on good terms with their communities, at least in their own perception. Thirty find the local citizens enthusiastic in their support, although three of those felt some in the community were apathetic. Seven others complained of local apathy, but none had encountered hostility.

Four of the small museums were in the pleasant situation of perceiving no problems at all in their institutions. The rest of the museums surveyed were not so fortunate. Nine institutions, 24

per cent of the whole, complained of an insufficient financial base. Surprisingly, an even larger group, 30 per cent, noted difficulties with their physical plants and buildings. Five saw poor community relations as their greatest problem, and four felt their staffs were too small. Viewing the four basic museum functions, collections, preservation, and interpretation, two museums saw each function as their big stumbling blocks, but not one museum felt dissatisfied with its exhibits! Two complained of organizational difficulties.

Goals varied just as widely. Two museums could think of no possible ways to improve themselves. Four wished for more, or better documented, collections. Five small museums wanted to increase their preservation functions, and two were anxious to improve their interpretation. While none of the museums had seen any problems with their exhibits, seven thought more or better exhibits would be desirable.

Despite the main complaints concerning inadequate funding, only three museums stressed additional income as a desired goal. It is significant, however, that eighteen institutions, 49 per cent of those in the state, very much wanted improved or new facilities for their museums. This is seven more museums than complained of poor housing in the first place!

Two museums wished to better their community ties, and two were interested in reorganization. The hiring of additional staff members was important to three museums.

Thus, the perceived needs of the small museums cover most aspects of their work. The museums carry on despite these handicaps, each improving as possible. Resources, mostly under utilized, exist to help each achieve its goals.

(Table 9 on next page)

TABLE 9  
PROSPECTS

Goals	Other		
	Organization	Staffing	Community
Physical Plant	XX		XXXXX
Financing			XXXXXX
Interpretation	X		X
Exhibition			X
Preservation	X		X
Collection		X	X
Other			X
Problems	Organization	Staffing	Community
			X
Physical Plant	XX		XX
Financing			X
Interpretation	X		X
Exhibition			X
Preservation	X		X
Collection	XX		X
Hostile			X
Apathetic	XXXXXXX		X
Enthusiastic	XXXXXXX		X

### MUSEUMS

- Anna Miller Museum
- Arapahoe Cultural Museum
- Armory Museum
- Blythe & Fargo Store
- Bradford Brinton Memorial Ranch
- Buffalo Bill Historical Center
- Carbon County Museum
- Crook County Museum
- Fort Caspar Historic Site
- Frederick Museum
- Fremont County Pioneer Museum
- Glendo Historical Museum
- Grand Encampment Museum
- Greybill Museum
- Homestead Museum
- Hot Springs County Pioneer Museum
- Jackson Hole Museum
- Johnson County-Jim Gatchell Museum
- Jolly Roger Museum
- Kemmerer City Museum



Laramie Plains Museum  
Museum of the Mountain Men  
Natrona County Pioneer Museum  
Old Trail Town  
Powell Homesteaders Museum  
Rawlins National Bank Museum  
Riverton Museum  
Rockpile Museum  
Stage Coach Museum  
Sweetwater County Historical Museum  
Tensleep Museum  
Teton County History Room  
Trail End Historical Center  
Uinta County Historical Museum  
Washakie County Historical Museum  
Warren Military Museum  
Welner Wonder Museum

## THE POTENTIAL OF WYOMING'S SMALL MUSEUMS

The main impression that emerges from the survey is one of diversity. Despite that diversity, the statistical analysis provides a tentative picture of the "typical" small historical museum of Wyoming.

That hypothetical "typical" museum is equally likely to be operated by some local government unit, under the auspices of a government appointed board, or by an historical society or museum association, with a board derived from that group. The museum's chances for funding are better with the former, but in any event, the institution has just under \$7000 in its annual budget. A little over half that sum goes for the salaries of the museum's equivalent of one and one-half staff members, none of whom is full-time; there are also volunteers who donate a total of twenty hours each week as guides and receptionists. This staff is directed by a person who, although lacking any museum training, whether through coursework, seminars, or experience, is dedicated and interested in local history and the museum. Together, the staff keeps the doors open full time in the summer, though they have to cut back considerably in the winter. The museum is aimed equally at local adults and children and at tourists, but of the few thousand visitors who come through each year, most are from out of town.

These visitors provide little direct income, for there is no admission charge, and no sales desk. The vast majority of the museum's budget comes from one source, the local government, which also owns the museum building and the surrounding grounds.

This "typical" museum is more interested in preserving its collections than in using them. Ninety per cent of the collections it owns outright, although loans are perfectly acceptable. While the collections are currently unencumbered by restrictions, such restrictions are quite permissible. The staff actively solicits the donation of additional artifacts, such donations accounting for virtually the entire collection. There is some documentation on each item in the collections, but vital "finding aids" are not available.

More than three-quarters of the total collection is on display, and perhaps one-fifth of those displays are periodically changed. The museum is dedicated to local history, and all of its exhibits fall within that theme. Temporary exhibitions are not brought in from outside, and the museum does not loan exhibits out. The exhibits themselves are a mixture, some interpretive and some not, of visible storage displays, systematic exhibits, and functional exhibits, including a period setting or two.

The museum maintains a manuscript collection, and perhaps a small library; outside of an advertising brochure it puts out no publication. Tours of the exhibit hall are cheerfully provided, but no other school services are available. The staff seldom has any

contact with other museums, but the museum is associated with the Wyoming State Historical Society.

The museum regularly uses the local newspaper and radio to publicize itself, and is rewarded with enthusiastic community support. The only real cloud on the horizon lies in the condition and size of the museum building, and the staff hopes something can be done about that in the future.

Some of the museums in the state do better than this "typical" example, and others do worse; many are better in some aspects, and yet fall below this "norm" in others. Nonetheless, this composite creation, which no historical museum in Wyoming will match exactly, contains elements shared by all.

The survey reveals five areas of common difficulty: unscientific collections management, un-interpretive or under-interpretive exhibition techniques, a scarcity of programs, totally inadequate funding (and attendant problems), and isolation, both from other museums and from museological information. These problem areas interrelate and feed on each other. A possible cure for one difficulty will also assist in others, and in many ways, the isolation factor may be at once the most damaging, and the easiest to remedy, of them all.

The collections management practiced by many of Wyoming's small museums is inadequate. One quarter of them own only half or less of the materials in their care, and over half still welcome loans. Many accept restricted gifts as well. Seventeen per cent have *no* documentation of their collections, and only five maintain all of the different records needed for complete identification and retrieval. Over the state, the small museums average three-quarters of their collections on display; 60 per cent of them have 90 per cent or more on public view. Both in terms of interpretation and of preservation of the artifacts, a reverse proportion would be more appropriate. With less than 20 per cent of those displays being rotated, the exhibited artifacts are condemned to inexorable degradation through constant exposure to light and dust.

The solutions to this situation are easy to state, but the means of effecting those solutions are much more elusive. As a first step, the small museums can cease the acceptance of any *additional* conditional donations or indefinite personal loans. This "preventive medicine" can then be followed, on a case-by-case basis, with selective "cures," negotiating with donors and lenders to convert conditional donations and loans into outright gifts.

Bringing the records up to date requires staff time, whether paid or volunteer. Most small museums have overworked staffs, but this may be the most important duty those people could perform. And, the reduction of the percentage of the collections on exhibit, and the periodic rotation of the remainder from exhibits into study

collections, requires only the willingness of the museum workers, and a dedication to the interpretive use of the artifacts.

The static nature of the bulk of the museum exhibits, and the high proportion of the collections on display, militate against effective interpretation. In addition to the common failure to rotate their own collections, less than one-third of the small museums ever displayed an exhibit from an outside source. This contributes to the sameness of the displays. More than half the museums use uninterpretive visual storage displays, and while most tried for more interpretive exhibits, only four had *only* the highly-interpretive functional exhibits. Interpretation ranked low in the museums' choices of priorities, and that decision on their part is amply illustrated.

Again, solutions are easy to suggest, but more difficult to implement. The first step, also tied to collections management, is the retiring of the bulk of the items on display to the study collection, retaining a number selected for their interpretive potential. Arminta Neal's books offer a wealth of inexpensive and practical suggestions for building effective exhibits. All are within the reach of each of Wyoming's small museums.

An increased use of temporary exhibits on loan from other institutions would not only complement each museum's collections and enrich its exhibit program, it would also increase visitation. These exhibits could come from the state's museums association, from the state museum, or from other small Wyoming museums.

Programs also need revitalization. Winter closures, practiced by one fourth of the state's small museums, make most school service impractical. The common assumption that a tour is the only proper form of extension activity ignores the enormous available range of program possibilities, possibilities that are often more effective than simple tours, and yet might require no more staff time. Programming to serve adults is especially rare. What is required of each museum staff and board is a conscious analysis of their community's needs, and then the selection and implementation of appropriate programs to serve those needs.

Wyoming's small museums produce few publications. Budget need not deter such activity. Even a mimeographed publication can be attractive and well written, and production costs are minimal. Increased museum publishing could greatly expand the public actually served by each institution.

Any of these improvements would be facilitated by proper funding. The sad fact is that Wyoming's small museums generally lack that funding. One-fifth of the museums have no budget at all, and the statewide average is less than \$7000 each. Few of the institutions have any real variety of funding sources, exposing them to severe danger in the event of the sudden stoppage of the customary supply. Despite generous Wyoming state laws allowing

local governmental support of museums, only fourteen museums receive such funding. Sales desks are infrequent.

Scarcity of funds results in winter closures, reduced programs, and worst of all, small or non-existent staffs. Thirty-eight per cent have *no* employees, and 68 per cent have no one working full time. Continuity from year to year naturally suffers. Collections management and interpretive exhibitions and programs require staff, and low funding levels prevent the hiring of that staff, and so retard all the museum functions. Lack of sufficient funding also contributes to the main problem most commonly perceived by the small museums, overcrowded or inappropriate facilities. The museums simply lack the monies to renovate their existing buildings, or build new ones.

Wyoming laws encourage proper support for museums.<sup>183</sup> Wyoming Statutes, §15-1-103(a)(xxx), allows all cities and towns "to establish and maintain . . . public museums."<sup>184</sup> Another statute grants them permission to issue and sell bonds "for establishing . . . museums and art galleries."<sup>185</sup>

Nor are cities and towns alone in these powers. "Each board or county commissioners may purchase, construct or acquire by donation or otherwise archaeological, geological and historical museums and collections of exhibits and articles to be included in or added to the museums and collections."<sup>186</sup> For that purpose, they may levy up to one half mill on each dollar of the taxable valuation, to provide for "the construction, maintenance and support of the museum or collection of exhibits."<sup>187</sup> Thus, either a city or town government or a county government has legal authority to finance a museum.

Many society-founded museums might not relish the prospect of control of "their" museum by a local government. Also, in these days of widespread citizen dissatisfaction with rising governmental costs, many local officials (and taxpayers) might be opposed to adding a museum to the list of services already funded; or, if the museum is already funded, it might be a convenient symbol to eliminate from the local government system. Wyoming is fortunate in offering its citizens a direct voice in the operation of local museums. Wyoming Statutes §18-10-201 to §18-10-219 regulate the establishment of special museum districts, proposed and approved by popular vote, governed by a popularly elected board of museum district trustees, and capable of levying up to

<sup>183</sup>Citations are to the 1977 Republished Edition, Wyoming Statutes.

<sup>184</sup>Wyoming Statutes, §15-1-103(a)(xxx)

<sup>185</sup>Wyoming Statutes, §15-4-249(a)(vii)

<sup>186</sup>Wyoming Statutes, §18-10-101

<sup>187</sup>Wyoming Statutes, §18-10-102

one mill on each dollar of assessed valuation.<sup>188</sup> This law allows the voters themselves to decide whether or not to maintain a public museum. And such districts can be any size, from less than a full county to multiple counties.

School districts offer another relatively untapped financial resource, only one of the small museums now drawing support from this source. Considering the school service museums render, it is not unreasonable for them to expect some school support. Even a token payment of fifty cents per enrolled student could give substantial support to the interpretive efforts of museums. Perhaps a contractual agreement, in which the museum provides school service in return for school money, is a means to implement such contributions.

Even if a museum is unable or unwilling to get public funding, it can diversify its income sources. A sales desk, staffed by volunteers, can not only provide income but also an interpretive service. Small museums have started sales desks with almost no expenditure of money, by opening their stock with consignment books, for which the publisher is paid only when the book is sold. The profit is low, but once a fund is built up, the museum can switch to more conventional, and more lucrative, stocking procedures.

The most severe limitation low funding places on small museums involves personnel. Happily, federally funded (and county administered) manpower programs can be used to help alleviate this problem. RSVP, CETA, PWEA, and YEP are all possible sources of aid, as is the college work/study program. Most museums in the state could tap one or more of these sources to pay personnel to process the collections, modernize the exhibits, and expand the programs. The programs do of course carry the disadvantage that discontinuation of a particular program will entail the loss of a staff member, but this is also true in the cyclical hirings of most small museums at present. One other means of staff funding offers more permanence, and probably better results. Two or three adjacent institutions can share the costs of one director, or curator, and thereby achieve continuity and professional help, at the same cost as for a series of part-time caretakers.

Other resources can help museums with their building problems. Federal revenue sharing funds, granted to local governments, are the kind of one-time, non-continuing monies that commissioners and councils like to apply to capital expenditures. Federal Community Development funds are administered through city governments, and are of the same limited duration. Those museums housed in historic structures can draw on additional monies,

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<sup>188</sup>Wyoming Statutes, §18-10-213

through historic preservation grants from the Office of Historic Preservation of the new Heritage Resource and Recreation Service. These national preservation grants are available to both public and private non-profit museums. Some preservation funds are channeled from the federal level through the State Historic Preservation Officer.

Most of the museums concerned about their physical plants were primarily short of space. Many of those would perhaps find that, without additional funding, they could at once obtain more space and better interpretation simply by retiring some of their duplicate artifacts to the study collections.

The small museums of Wyoming tend to be isolated, both from each other and from their profession. There is very little inter-museum contact, even on so simple a level as mutual exchange of brochures. Only two loaned or traded artifacts to other museums. Only a few belonged to professional organizations, as previously noted. These circumstances, added to the frequent lack of specialized museum training or experience on the part of the staffs, combine to produce museums that operate less efficiently than need be, simply because of a lack of information.

The isolation of Wyoming's small museums is perhaps the greatest of the difficulties the museums must overcome. Not only does this isolation eliminate mutual action, it also retards communication between institutions and prevents the sharing of solutions to common problems.

Answers to this problem, fortunately, are not difficult to implement.

No link in the chain, no single museum, stands alone . . . Through its contacts with sister institutions it strengthens the general museum movement and gains internal strength by doing so.<sup>189</sup>

Simple steps to improve communications between museums include brochure exchange, and the mailing of mimeographed publications from each museum to the others. This might facilitate an increase in the loan of exhibits between museums. And museums could cooperate on larger projects such as archaeological digs or placement of historical markers.

Most curators find that their imagination eventually dries up, they exhaust their particular repertoire of educational ideas. For this reason exchange of ideas between museums might be extremely useful.<sup>190</sup>

Museum oriented associations provide excellent forums for such idea exchanges. The Mountain-Plains Museum Conference, a regional organization of the American Association of Museums, in-

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<sup>189</sup>Guthe, *Small History Museums*, p. 77.

<sup>190</sup>Zetterberg, *Museums and Adult Education*, p. 14.

cludes Wyoming in its geographic area, and offers fine annual meetings and a quarterly newsletter. The Colorado-Wyoming Association of Museums provides the same services on a more local level; both are inexpensive. The Wyoming State Historical Society is the only statewide organization concentrating on local history, and while not specifically focused on museums, its publications and meetings provide an excellent opportunity for a flow of ideas.

On the national level, the American Association of Museums and the American Association for State and Local History both offer fine publications, and the AASLH is especially receptive to the needs of small museums.

The matter of communication is thus easily solved; the question of lack of training and experience is less easy to deal with.

These individuals are well-intentioned, intelligent citizens who use their common sense and experience in developing their museums. Unfortunately, most of them are not acquainted with the knowledge of museum management which has accrued over several generations and is now generally accepted. As a result, there is a tendency, through the use of trial and error methods, to repeat mistakes and struggle with difficulties which have long since been recognized and corrected in successful museums.<sup>191</sup>

Essentially, there are three groups of people associated with Wyoming's small museums who need access to museum theory and techniques, and each group's needs require a different solution. The three groups are the boards that manage the museums (and the boards that appoint the boards), the actual museum staffs, both paid and volunteer, and finally, those people hoping to enter the field but currently uninvolved in any particular museum.

Board members might best benefit by joining some of the professional organizations, and by reading some of the general literature on museums. Specific recommendations include Raymond O. Harrison's *The Technical Requirements of Small Museums*, Carl Guthe's *The Management of Small History Museums*, B. Ellis Burecaw's *Introduction to Museum Work*, and both Arminta Neal's *Help! for the Small Museum* and her *Exhibits for the Small Museum*.

To be sure, museum staffs can profit by the same readings. Their need for information, however, is more immediate and more far reaching than that of the boards, and readings alone cannot satisfy that need.

Both the Colorado-Wyoming Association of Museums and the Wyoming State Historical Society need to offer more seminars, modeled after those already offered nationally by the AASLH, specifically aimed at the needs of small museums. The Wyoming

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<sup>191</sup>Guthe, *So You Want a Good Museum*, p. i.

State Museum staff can join these two groups in offering short workshops on specific topics, held in a number of locations around the state. The Wyoming State Museum now provides a consulting service to the small museums, and this should be continued and strengthened. Such seminars and consultations could provide the small museums with answers to specific problems.

Even more valuable to the small museums of the state would be either an employee-exchange program or an internship system, with one of the larger museums in the state. In the first arrangement, a staff member from a small museum would work at a large one, while the large museum sent one of its people to the small institution, perhaps for a period of two weeks. The small museum would derive double advantages from this program, both in terms of training and in terms of professional work performed at its museum. The large museum, while fulfilling an obligation to assist the smaller institutions, would not gain many benefits.

A more two-sided program would be an internship system, whereby small museum staff members would work, at minimum wage, at a large museum for one month. The large museum would gain the labor and fresh insight of the intern from the small museum, at the same time the intern would be learning interpretive museum theory by actual practice.

Those people interested in the field of museum work, but not at present involved, would best be served by university coursework, coupled with intern opportunities at a well-run museum. At the University of Wyoming, a student could major in history and minor in museum studies, taking a broad range of existing courses pertinent to museum work, and using the Wyoming State Museum and the museums of the University for actual experience.

Perhaps one reason why the museum goal is not discovered by more undergraduate and even graduate students is that it is so rarely represented to them by their counselors or advisors as a career.<sup>192</sup>

This is certainly true of the University of Wyoming History Department. In preparing its students for professional careers, the department centers exclusively on training college-level teachers of history. Since 1970, ten of its students have found careers in museum work. It would be interesting to compare that number to the number actually teaching college history courses. The department is oriented toward traditional lecture/seminar methods of teaching history. It reaches fewer people, in more depth, than do the small museums with their 600,000 annual visitation. Each approach is a complementary part of the larger whole of interpreting Wyoming history.

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<sup>192</sup>Irving F. Reiman, "Preparation for Professional Museum Careers," *Curator*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1960, p. 281.

Small museums continue to thrive, and multiply, despite these problems. Very simply, "they meet a need that no other community institution does."<sup>193</sup> Their visitation proves that they are doing something right. "Our worry need not be about the standards of such museums, but how to help them achieve their standards."<sup>194</sup> Suggestions as to how to accomplish that include:

1. The Wyoming State Historical Society, the organization with the greatest number of member small museums, should assume a position of active leadership in providing resources for the small museums. Specifically, the Wyoming State Historical Society should ensure that each small museum receive both complete information on Wyoming Statutes regarding funding sources, and a basic reference shelf of books related to museum operations. In addition, the Wyoming State Historical Society should sponsor both traveling short-term topical workshops, held at several locations throughout Wyoming, and an annual intensive seminar in museum practices, lasting several days. Funding is available for these purposes under the National Museum Act.
2. The Colorado-Wyoming Association of Museums should also sponsor intensive seminars, or co-sponsor those of the Wyoming State Historical Society, whenever possible defraying at least part of the expenses of participants. This activity should be coupled with a concerted drive to enroll small museums in the association.
3. The Wyoming State Museum should continue its existing consulting program, and expand the number and variety of the workshops it offers. It should assist small museums in securing grant monies to meet their various needs.
4. The Wyoming State Museum should consider establishing its own internship program for staffs of small museums, allowing such persons to work with its professionals for one-month periods, and hopefully paying the intern at least the minimum hourly wage.
5. The Wyoming State Museum can expand its interpretation, provide inspiration to small museums, and enliven their exhibit galleries by placing one exhibit in each small museum, utilizing duplicate materials from the state collections. Perhaps as a new loan exhibit was produced, each small museum would send the one already loaned to it on to the next institution on a list, thus ensuring at least some rotation in each museum.
6. The Colorado-Wyoming Association of Museums should enter the traveling exhibit field, converting the better temporary shows of its members into circulating exhibitions, suitably

<sup>193</sup>Robbins, *America's Museums: The Belmont Report*, p. 35.

<sup>194</sup>Reimann, "Preparation for Professional Museum Careers," p. 280.

erated and insured. The availability of such shows at low cost would improve the appearance and interpretation of many small museums.

7. The Wyoming State Historical Society should use its network of local chapters to organize a series of loaned exhibits among Wyoming's museums, each institution having one standardized case, with just the case inserts and glazing traveling. Each small museum would prepare an exhibit to be circulated. If each small museum participated, each museum could receive one changing display each month for three years, at the total cost of only the one insert it had built. No one would wish to circulate an unattractive exhibit, and so high quality would be guaranteed.

8. The College of Arts and Sciences of the University of Wyoming should give strong consideration to the establishment of a museum studies minor *option* for undergraduates, to prepare them for positions in the museum field. Each student would major in a solid academic discipline, such as history, anthropology, or American studies, and then accomplish the minor by taking other pertinent courses in photography, stagecraft, art and art history, speech, business administration, and education. The archival management and museum courses long offered for independent study by Professor E. B. Long could be converted into regular courses, to provide the needed theory. Lectures on museum applications could be offered by the trained professionals in the Art, Geology, Anthropology, History, Archives, and American Studies Departments.

Practical experience would be obtained by internships in the Archives, Geology Museum, Art Museum, and Anthropology Museum, "pay" being in the form of semester credits, to be followed by an internship (perhaps in the form of summer employment) at the Wyoming State Museum. Coupled with a solid academic major, such a minor would equip students with the skills required of small museum staffs, as well as prepare them for a graduate course of study if so desired.

The decade of the 1970s has seen new pressures on most Wyoming communities, as populations burgeon in response to mineral and energy development. The character of many towns has been submerged under the onslaught of new housing and new faces. The small museums have a vital role in helping to preserve their local unique features, and at the same time welcome and orient the newcomers, easing their integration into community life. Perhaps the best function the small museum can serve is to act as a local history *catalyst*; to provide example and direction for efforts to accommodate the future while saving the best of the past, in the process enriching our daily lives.

Laurence Vail Coleman prophesied in 1927 that:

Cooperation—real cooperation—is required to complete a new regime. In time museums may abandon the secretiveness and the spirit of competition which so limit them. Then the machinery of joint action can be set in motion and cooperative staff and cooperative work will be in usual course. Then the post of *consulting director* may be a common one. Then state and regional conferences will develop and the members of each local group will find new power. Then small museums will be more effective, and large ones—sharing generously in the intercourse—will reap rewards in leadership and in extension of their fields of usefulness.<sup>195</sup>

Fifty years has not dimmed that prophecy.

## APPENDIX A INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Anna Miller Museum Box 698 Newcastle, Wyoming 82701	Mary Capps Director February 8, 1974
Arapahoe Cultural Museum Box 127 Ethete, Wyoming 82520	Dennis Robert Sun Rhodes Curator Reverend David Duncombe Visited February 5, 1974 Mailed responses received on March 10, 1974
Armory Museum 337 N. Jefferson Sheridan, Wyoming 82801	Major Alan Bourne Command Staff Assistant February 7, 1974
Bradford Brinton Memorial Ranch Box 23 Big Horn, Wyoming 82833	James T. Forrest Director March 26, 1974 Visited July 8, 1974
Blyth and Fargo Store Evanston, Wyoming 82930	Harry Bodine Owner December 8, 1973
Buffalo Bill Historical Center P. O. Box 1020 Cody, Wyoming 82414	Dr. Harold McCracken Director September 29, 1973
Carbon County Museum Carbon County Courthouse P. O. Box 335 Rawlins, Wyoming 82301	Mrs. Marion Geddes Curator February 4, 1974

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<sup>195</sup>Coleman, *Manual for Small Museums*, p. 324.

Crook County Museum Sundance, Wyoming 82729	Nora Reimer Chairman, Crook County Museum Board Visited February 8, 1974 Mailed response received
Fort Caspar Historic Site and Museum 14 Fort Caspar Road Casper, Wyoming 82601	O. W. Judge Director-Historian March 2, 1974
Frederick Museum Guernsey, Wyoming 82214	Stella M. Frederick Owner February 28, 1974
Fremont County Pioneer Museum 630 Lincoln Lander, Wyoming 82520	William McAleenan Director February 4, 1974 Visited February 5, 1974
Glendo Historical Museum Glendo, Wyoming 82213	Janette Chambers Lucille Trenholm Museum Board Members February 9, 1978
Grand Encampment Museum, Inc. Encampment, Wyoming 82325	Vera Oldman President, Museum Board June 8, 1974
Greybull Museum Box 348 325 Greybull Avenue Greybull, Wyoming 82426	Mrs. Delma Clark Assistant Director February 6, 1974
Homestead Museum Carpenter, Wyoming 82054	Richard Hardy Owner February 28, 1974
Hot Springs County Pioneer Museum 235 Springview Avenue Thermopolis, Wyoming 82443	William R. Mayfield Manager February 5, 1974
Jackson Hole Museum P. O. Box 1005 Jackson, Wyoming 83001	W. C. (Slim) Lawrence Owner of collection September 30, 1973 Museum not visited
Johnson County Jim Gatchell Memorial Museum 110 Fort Street Buffalo, Wyoming 82834	George Barkley Curator February 7, 1974

Jolly Roger Museum Box 106 Evanston, Wyoming 82930	Denise Wheeler Owner December 8, 1973
Kemmerer City Museum Triangle Park Kemmerer, Wyoming 83101	Archie Neil Town Clerk December 8, 1973
Laramie Plains Museum Association, Inc. 603 Ivinson Avenue Laramie, Wyoming 82070	Joyce Wright Director Zoe Carr Assistant Director December 5, 1973
Museum of the Mountain Men Sublette County Historical Society, Inc. P. O. Box 666 Pinedale, Wyoming 82941	Elton Cooley President, Historical Society Bert Reinow Chairman, Museum Committee September 30, 1973
Natrona County Pioneer Museum 1014 S. David Street Casper, Wyoming 82601	Bernadine Reed Carol Mae Wilson Curators March 6, 1974
Old Trail Town and Museum of the Old West Cody, Wyoming 82414	Bob Edgar Director July 8, 1974
Powell Homesteaders Museum Association, Inc. Powell, Wyoming 82435	Clyde Kurtz Board Member July 8, 1974
Rawlins National Bank Museum 220 5th Street Rawlins, Wyoming 82301	John W. France Bank President December 8, 1973
Riverton Museum 700 East Park Avenue Riverton, Wyoming 82501	Wilma Lester Curator February 5, 1974
The Rockpile Museum Box 922 West Highway 14-16 Gillette, Wyoming 82716	Ralph Kintz Chairman, County Museum Board February 8, 1974
Stage Coach Museum Box 1396 342 South Main Lusk, Wyoming 82225	Annabelle Hoblit Director Visited February 8, 1974 Mailed response received on February 12, 1974

Sweetwater County Museum 50 E. Flaming Gorge Way Green River, Wyoming 82935	Henry F. Chadey Director December 8, 1973
Ten Sleep Museum Ten Sleep, Wyoming 82442	Gail Anderson Chairman Mailed response received on May 8, 1974 Visited July 4, 1974
The History Room of the Teton Chapter of the WSHS Teton County Library Jackson, Wyoming 83001	Elizabeth R. Brownell Archivist, Teton County Chapter September 29, 1973 Museum not visited
Trail End Historical Center 400 Clarendon Sheridan, Wyoming 82801	Robert A. Holliday Director February 7, 1974
Uinta County Historical Society Museum City Building Box 106 Evanston, Wyoming 82930	Russell Varineau President, Historical Society December 8, 1973
Washakie County Historical Society Museum County Library, 11th Street Worland, Wyoming 82401	Rosa St. Clair Curator February 6, 1974 Museum not visited
Warren Military Museum P. O. Box 9625 Francis E. Warren AFB, Wyoming 82001	Lt. Col. August (Ace) Einbeck Director February 28, 1974
Weltner Wonder Museum I-90 and S 59 Highway Exchange Gillette, Wyoming 82716	Robert and Frances Carson Owners February 8, 1974

## APPENDIX B

## QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

1. What is the complete name and address of your museum?  
And your full title?
2. What is the general theme behind your museum?

3. Please rank the following activities as to their importance in your museum's operations, "1" indicating the highest priority and "4" the lowest.

Collection \_\_\_\_\_ Interpretation \_\_\_\_\_  
Preservation \_\_\_\_\_ Exhibition \_\_\_\_\_

4. To which of the following groups does your museum primarily cater? Again, please rank them in order of priority, with "1" representing the most important group.

Tourists \_\_\_\_\_ Local Adults \_\_\_\_\_ School Children \_\_\_\_\_

5. Approximately how many people visited your museum in 1972?

6. In your estimation, what percentage of those visitors were:  
Tourists \_\_\_\_\_ Local Adults \_\_\_\_\_ School Children \_\_\_\_\_

7. What are your visiting hours, throughout the year?

8. What percentage of your collections are on exhibit? \_\_\_\_\_

9. What percentage of your exhibits are periodically changed?

10. Do you ever display loaned exhibits? \_\_\_\_\_ If so, where do these temporary exhibits come from?

11. About what percentage of your collections is in the form of loaned materials? \_\_\_\_\_ Is it your current policy to accept loans?

12. Have you had many loans called back?

13. About what percentage of your collections, if any, has been purchased?

14. Do you presently actively solicit the donation of items to the museum?

15. About what percentage of your collections is in the form of conditional donations? \_\_\_\_\_ Is it your current policy to accept such donations?

16. What percentage of your exhibits do not pertain closely to the theme of your museum, but rather fall into the category of "general interest"?

17. What type of records are kept on the items in the collections?

18. For the purposes of our study, would you be willing to give us, in round figures, your annual budget?

19. Approximately what percentage of that budget comes from the following sources?

federal government \_\_\_\_\_ state government \_\_\_\_\_

county government \_\_\_\_\_ city government \_\_\_\_\_

historical society \_\_\_\_\_ admission fee \_\_\_\_\_

publications \_\_\_\_\_ donations \_\_\_\_\_

sales desk \_\_\_\_\_ other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

20. About what percentage of your annual budget does each of the following require?
- |                      |                       |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| building maintenance | salaries              |
| publications         | publicity             |
| special programs     | purchase of artifacts |
| other (specify)      |                       |
21. Does your institution own the museum building and the land on which it sits? Who does?
22. How many paid staff members does your museum enjoy?
- |           |           |
|-----------|-----------|
| Part time | Full time |
|-----------|-----------|
23. Besides yourself as director, is there a society or governing body behind the museum?
24. Briefly, as director, what is your background, if you care to tell me?
25. How has your museum handled the common problem of security?
26. What different kinds of publicity do you use, such as radio, or tourist guides?
27. Does your museum make use of volunteer help?
- How?
- Approximately how much time per week is put in by volunteers, total?
28. Are the volunteers regulated by an association of some sort?
29. Could you give me any idea of the use made of local experts?
30. Does your museum put out any publications? What?
31. Do you offer guided tours of your museum? To whom?
32. Does your museum offer tours outside its walls (such as tours of historic homes or battle sites)? What?
33. Is your museum ever able to sponsor speakers?
34. Does your museum ever offer classes?
35. Does your museum maintain a research laboratory or manuscripts collection?
36. Does your museum engage in an oral history program?
37. Does your museum have outside activities such as location of historical markers or maintenance of historic sites?
38. Does your museum sponsor any special celebrations or social events? What?
39. Does your museum loan exhibits? To whom?
40. Does your museum have any programs in co-operation with local educational institutions?
41. What contact does your museum maintain with other local museums?
42. What contact does your museum maintain with state, regional, or national museum organizations?
43. What kind of relations does your museum enjoy with the surrounding community? Are the local people, in your opinion, enthusiastic apathetic hostile ?

44. What do you consider to be the single greatest problem facing your museum at present?
45. What would you like to see done to improve your museum?
46. Is there anything else you would like to add?
47. Interviewer's comments:

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—Courtesy of Ester Johansson Murray

Margaret and Peter McCulloch at their Worden, Montana, ranch home in the early 1900s. He was in charge of the first cattle drive into the Big Horn Basin in 1879. Although the spelling was altered, McCullough Peaks between Powell and Cody were named for him.

# *"Short Grass and Heather"*

## *Peter McCulloch in the Big Horn Basin*

*By*

ESTER JOHANSSON MURRAY

Peter McCulloch, riding point on the herd of 2000 Oregon cattle, topped the cedar ridge and looked westward into the upper reaches of the Big Horn Basin. He had seen a lot of Wyoming territory since he had left Fort Bridger, but this was the most spectacular and beautiful of all. Unnamed ranges in muted blues or scraggly volcanic red were paneled with green forest and carpeted from river to foothill with golden grass. They were bringing cattle to the bending, swaying, uneaten and untrampled grass.

The year was 1879 and the herd was the first to be brought to the Big Horn Basin. They came just behind the vanishing buffalo and just barely ahead of the herds of Otto Frane and Captain Henry Belknap.

McCulloch had celebrated his fortieth birthday at Fort Bridger before going north with the cattle. He had already had more than his share of pioneering and war adventures and had not yet reached his life's halfway mark.

He was born July 12, 1839, in Penningham, Wigton, Scotland, the son of Robert and Mary McCulloch.<sup>1</sup> He had one brother, Fred, and four sisters. Although they were descended from royalty, the McCullochs were not a wealthy family.<sup>2</sup>

Cardoness Castle, the McCulloch family home for over five centuries, has lost its one-time grandeur. Situated off Wigton Bay on a small arm of water called Fleet Bay, it is typical of late medieval Scottish castles. The four-story structure, built on the tower house plan, has elaborate fireplaces and stone benches in

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<sup>1</sup>Robert McCulloch, died February 13, 1873, age 76, buried at Villisca, Iowa. Mary McGiel McCulloch, died October 12, 1876, age 73, buried at Villisca.

<sup>2</sup>One of the early McCullochs, Sir Godfrey McCulloch, gained some fame or notoriety by being the last person in Scotland to be executed by the "Maiden," the Scot's version of the guillotine. He was executed at Edinburgh in 1697. *Stewartry District Guide*, (travel brochure), p. 37.

the great hall and solarium and remains of the outer defenses still exist. The castle is maintained as a national monument.<sup>3</sup>

Peter's family left Scotland in April, 1853. He was fourteen years old when they departed from Liverpool, England, on the sailing vessel, *The Great Western*.<sup>4</sup>

No definite information about Peter from 1853 to 1861 is known. At some time he may have lived in Boston with an uncle who gathered oysters from the sea and hauled them by cart to the processors.<sup>5</sup> Granddaughter Margaret Matson thought he had been a freighter from St. Louis to Fort Bridger during that period.<sup>6</sup> Wallace Shurtleff recorded that McCulloch came to Fort Bridger at the same time as Johnston's army in 1857.<sup>7</sup>

McCulloch was living in St. Louis and working as a "gas and steam fitter" when the Civil War began. He enlisted as a private in Company A, First Battalion Rifles, Missouri Infantry (Lyon Guards) on May 11, 1861, for a period of three months. He was mustered out on August 14, 1861. On September 12, he volunteered for three years in Company D, Fremont's Body Guard, Missouri Mounted Volunteers.<sup>8</sup>

Only three months later, on November 30, 1861, he was again mustered out when Fremont was relieved of his command by President Lincoln for overstepping his authority and issuing his own emancipation proclamation in Missouri. On Fremont's dismissal, his Body Guard was disbanded.<sup>9</sup>

Many of the officers were not paid for their services in the Body Guard. On McCulloch's record is the notation, "Pay due from

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<sup>3</sup>*Dumfries and Galloway, Official Guide*, p. 34. Agnes, one of Peter's sisters spent considerable time there as a child. She played with her cousins and gave kindly attention to her Uncle John who was bedfast. When John died, Agnes returned to live with her own family. She later recalled, ". . . scampering here and there all over the stately old castle; the garret filled with the relics of our race was always a great source of attraction for us. Here hung the ancient armor, suits of mail and weapons of war, and there were old chests filled with rich laces and brocades, court suits of both men and women." From copies of family papers given by Pauline McCulloch, Mountain View, Wyoming, (Peter's daughter-in-law) to Grace Kirch, Billings, Montana, (Peter's granddaughter).

<sup>4</sup>One family heirloom which followed the McCullochs from Scotland all the way to Wyoming was a sampler made by Peter's mother, Mary McGiel. She made it in 1816 when she was thirteen years old, having grown the flax, spun the thread and woven the linen cloth herself. Interview with Grace Kirch, 1977-1978.

<sup>5</sup>Interview, Margaret Matson, 1978.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup>Wallace Shurtleff (compiler), *Bridger Country* (No publisher, no date). Loaned by Pauline McCulloch.

<sup>8</sup>Civil War Enlistment Records, National Archives.

<sup>9</sup>Ferol Egan, *Fremont: Explorer for a Restless Nation* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1977), pp. 515-517.

enlistment." However, it also shows he had been advanced \$19.05 for clothing. After the disbanding of Fremont's Body Guard, McCulloch was in government employ in the Quartermaster Department at Springfield and Rollo, Missouri. He was later transferred to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.<sup>10</sup>

Peter's sister Agnes McCulloch Harvey, who used to live at Fort Bridger, wrote several anecdotes about his war experiences which are quoted in her own words:<sup>11</sup>

My brother, Peter McCulloch, was all through the Civil War (serving with the Union Army), and I have heard him tell many thrilling stories of his hair breadth escapades. For three months he was one of Fremont's body guards, and when it was disbanded, he became Wagon Boss, a position which was fraught with many dangers. When he was attached to the Body Guard, he often carried dispatches because he was brave, powerful and more, I suspect, because he was well acquainted with the country. He often boasted that he knew every road, trail and every hog track in Arkansas and Missouri. Of course, this made him valuable as a messenger.

One extremely dark night he was riding along on a powerful horse and without warning he rode against a wire stretched across the way—too high for the horse. Here his instinct or caution saved his life, for while apparently safe, he was still subconsciously on the lookout and thus saved himself from falling. He disregarded the command to "Halt"—put spurs to his horse and was soon beyond the reach of the random shots that were fired after him by the surprised and chagrined ambishers who had expected an easy victim. He escaped and delivered his dispatch safely.

One day after he became Wagon Boss, he and his men had been out for a long time and were ragged and dirty and without money. He went into town, got paid off, and money for his men, which was \$400. He put it into his boot for safe keeping. He bought himself a fine suit of clothes and started out to regain his train of wagons. On the way in passing along, the road passed through a thicket of underbrush. Here he was ambushed, his new clothes taken from him and replaced by an old suit of butternut brown, a size too small. His boot was drawn off and the \$400 taken. He often said he regretted the clothes more than the money.

The Confederate Rebels took him with them. They traveled that day and when night came he was put under guard but he noticed that his guard did not seem to be as alert as he would have been under similar circumstances. He also noticed during the day that they had a large number of Union horses which were brought right around the camp at night preparatory to staking them out. One of these, a noble animal, an officer's horse, one that he knew to be of great speed and endurance. He decided to make a dash for liberty and take the horse. Accordingly, watching his chance when his captors were busily engaged in discussing their plans, and his guards were also listening, he slipped his hands free from the ropes which bound them. They had

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<sup>10</sup>Information from McCulloch's application for war pension, 1904.

<sup>11</sup>Agnes married a Hewitt after her first husband, Harvey, died. Will and George Harvey, her sons, were nephews of Peter McCulloch with whom he had business associations. Will seemed to have been particularly close to him.

become loosened by working them through the day. They had apparently forgotten to tie his feet, as when he had been brought into camp he had sunk down with every appearance of exhaustion.

As before stated, he edged toward the horse silently, arose to his feet, and leaned against a tree to which the horse was tied, put his hand behind him, untied the horse, and while they were still all engrossed by the subject under discussion, sprung to the back of the horse and was away like the wind. As he did so, his coat split from neck to tail.

A moment of confusion and they were after him. He laid low on his horse to avoid bullets and sped on. While his pursuers were still quite a distance behind, he came to the opening of a trail known to but a few but very familiar to him. The opening was masked by trees and bushes. Into this he turned his horse and remained there quietly until the pursuing party had passed. Then he rode quietly on his way and regained his outfit without further molestation.

In this case his knowledge of the country undoubtedly saved him from death or recapture. He soon had his wagon loaded with supplies for the Army and it was an exceptionally long mule train. He was riding leisurely along at the head of the train on a powerful mule, coming around a bend in the road, he ran almost into a scouting party. Through some oversight he had no weapon on him, but quick as thought he raised the handle of his riding quirt and pointing it at them and said, "You make a move and you are dead men." Thinking, of course, that it was a pistol, they sat still and he called out to the teamster of the first team, which just appeared around the curve, to turn the train and get out quick. He often said afterward that he never saw orders so quickly obeyed and never saw government mules make such good time. They turned in an incredibly small space and the way they got over the ground was a caution.

Agnes wrote about another of Peter's Civil War adventures in which he escaped capture by a courageous bluff:

A short time after the above adventure, as he was riding along in fancied security, he was again taken prisoner, and as bad luck would have it, one of the men was a member of the same party who had captured him before. The recognition was mutual, but he did not make any sign, for a second capture meant death. When he was asked to give an account of himself, he said he was a traveler from New York, just looking around a little, and he stuck to this story so closely that they were convinced of its truth. All seemed to be going well when the fellow who had helped to capture him before, spoke up and said, "It's a lie. Me and a party captured him a couple weeks ago and he stole a horse and escaped."

The tide was just on the turn against him when his ready wit saved the day. "Well, gentlemen, would you take that man's word before mine? Don't you see that he is crosseyed? He can't see straight." Amid the general laugh that followed, he was allowed to go on his way, rejoicing while the crosseyed man was too taken back for the moment to reply.

Granddaughter Grace Kirch related another Civil War story about her grandfather. One time he was thirsty and came to a small stream and was going to take a drink from it, but something didn't seem quite right to him so he hesitated and walked up the stream. He soon came upon a dead soldier lying in the water. When asked what he did then, he replied, "I just walked farther

up the stream and got my drink of water.' Peter's luck held out and he survived the Civil War.

After the war he worked with a survey party staking out the first transcontinental railroad for the Union Pacific. He was in charge of the horse camp and, as the survey crews were always moving ahead of the construction gangs, he had several narrow escapes from the Indians who were constantly harassing the party.

One time while working on day herd, he was cut off from the main force and finally rescued by soldiers sent out to drive away the Indians. Another time he was struck in the left upper arm by a bullet which he carried the rest of his life. His grandchildren delighted in hearing the story and touching the bullet which moved about under the skin of his arm.

After finishing his work for the Union Pacific, McCulloch returned to Fort Bridger and was employed by Judge William A. Carter.

Fort Bridger and Carter were almost synonymous from 1857 until the 1900s. William Alexander Carter was a well-educated gentleman from Virginia who had served in the Seminole Indian War. He had become friends with General William S. Harney, who urged him to go out West and operate a sutler's store for the Army. This he did in 1857.<sup>12</sup>

"Carter became especially prominent at Fort Bridger when it was practically abandoned by the Army during the Civil War. He organized the mountain men into a local militia and enlisted the aid of Chief Washakie to help defend the Fort against hostile Indians."<sup>13</sup>

McCulloch was associated with Judge Carter from 1869 until Carter died in 1881, and then with the Carter family until 1889. Shurtliff mentions the "Carter Cattle Company" many times in his book.<sup>14</sup> "The Carter Cattle Company," he said, "consisted of the following partners: Judge Carter; Richard H. Hamilton, shipping foreman; Peter McCulloch, range foreman; F. T. Birdseye,

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<sup>12</sup>Fred R. Gowans and Eugene E. Campbell, *Fort Bridger, Island in the Wilderness* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), p. 145. John H. Hamilton of Fort Bridger says his grandfather, Richard Hamilton, and W. A. Carter were brothers-in-law and also cousins. "Judge Carter and Dick (Richard) Hamilton and Dick Carter came through in 1850, to the West Coast. Hamilton and Dick Carter came back. Judge Carter went by boat and across the isthmus of Panama and came back later." Hamilton, letter to author, November 10, 1878. John Hamilton's father was Charles Hamilton, son of Richard Hamilton and Fronie Black Hamilton, (Richard's second wife).

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 145-146.

<sup>14</sup>Shurtliff, *Bridger Country*. He states in one place that the Carter Cattle Company was formed in 1869; in another, he gives the date as 1872.

secretary; and later, William Louis Wheeler, assistant foreman under Hamilton.<sup>15</sup>

According to Shurtleff, the Carter Cattle Company started out with 300 or 350 head of cattle shipped in from Nebraska and five head of Durham bulls. Later they bought 1000 hardy Texas cattle that had been trailed north to Nebraska and then west to Brown's Park on the Green River.

After successfully handling the job of range foreman for the Carter Cattle Company, Peter felt financially able to take on the responsibility of a wife so he returned to Muscatine, Iowa, where his family had settled. It was there he courted Margaret Sinclair and they were married on January 2, 1872, by the Reverend Archibald Sangster.<sup>16</sup>

After their marriage, Peter and Margaret returned to Fort Bridger and their first child, Mary Ellen, was born there on November 11, 1872. The "army doctor" attended her birth.

When Mary Ellen was six weeks old, Margaret decided to join Peter at the supply ranch where he was working. She and her baby stayed with friends at Smith's Fork the first night. The next morning they rode in an open wagon driven by Richard Hamilton, who was accompanied by his young daughter.<sup>17</sup>

The road was only a snow-covered trail winding through the hills. They lost their way about sundown but the sound of barking dogs led them to believe they were getting close to the herd house where Peter was staying.<sup>18</sup>

They had to cross Beam Creek but somehow they missed the crossing and lost the sound of the barking dogs. Hamilton tried to cross on the ice but one horse broke through and fell into the water.

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<sup>15</sup>McCulloch's granddaughters and other relatives do not remember anything about Peter McCulloch's being a partner in the Carter Cattle Company, nor does John H. Hamilton. However, if not partners, these men were the executives of the Carter Cattle Company. The answer probably could be found in the W. A. Carter papers and ledgers, but these were inaccessible to the author. The major portion of the Fort Bridger Carter papers are in the Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.

<sup>16</sup>The Sinclair family were also emigrants from Scotland, but had come by way of Toronto, Canada. Margaret had been born at Cheltenham, near Toronto, on August 5, 1850. There were fourteen children in the Sinclair family.

<sup>17</sup>Pauline McCulloch writes that they probably stayed with the Harveys at Mountain View on Smith's Fork. "It is only six miles, but I expect it seemed like 10 miles to Grandma . . ." Letter to writer, February 4, 1979. It is probably close to twenty-five miles to Willow Creek.

<sup>18</sup>Carter called his cow camps and line cabins "herd houses." There was one at Lonetree, one just outside Mountain View, and one on the Dave James place, a little north of Robertson. Pauline McCulloch, letter, February 4, 1979.

Margaret's foot broke through the ice when she got out of the wagon and she was soaked to the knee. They left the horses and wagon and started walking. Hamilton was dressed in a buffalo hide coat and hide pants. Margaret was wrapped in a buffalo robe and blankets. Hamilton carried his little girl while Margaret carried the baby.

Soon they heard shouting, dogs barking and guns being fired. Peter and Margaret were reunited about a mile from the herd house. Men from the ranch rescued the team and, about midnight, travelers and horses were having their first food since the early breakfast that morning.<sup>19</sup>

She had arrived a day or so before Christmas, and their last visitor was in January. She saw no other white women until she returned to Fort Bridger in May.<sup>20</sup>

While the family lived at the supply ranch on Willow Creek, there were several incidents involving the Shoshone (Snake) Indians which became family anecdotes.

One time, Margaret McCulloch was mending socks in the same room where baby Mary was asleep on a bed, covered with a brightly colored quilt, and near a partially opened window. Margaret looked up just in time to see an Indian at the window, his hand reaching in to steal the quilt. Margaret set their dog, "Echo," on the Indian and he quickly backed off.

Another time, after Margaret had baked some pies, an Indian walked in and helped himself to fresh pie. The next time the Indian invited himself in for a handout, he didn't see Peter sitting in the room. Margaret was cooking a big kettle of beans which Peter dearly loved. Peter took his six-shooter and told the Indian to "eat beans." When the Indian was full, Peter pointed the gun at him and said, "Eat more beans." He repeated this until the Indian was unable to swallow another bean. They never were bothered by that Indian again.<sup>21</sup>

In 1879, there was a drought in the southwestern part of Wyoming. Chief Washakie invited Judge Carter to take his cattle to the Stinking Water area because Washakie said the drought had not affected the grass in the northern part of the territory.<sup>22</sup> J. K. Moore was the intermediary between Carter and Washakie.

<sup>19</sup>Pauline McCulloch writes that Cal Hickey never heard of Beam Creek nor had anyone else she talked to, so its name must have been changed.

<sup>20</sup>Jessie McCulloch of Santa Cruz, California, said she found this story on two faded sheets of tablet paper among some family papers.

<sup>21</sup>Interviews with Edith Keller, Billings, Montana, 1976-78.

<sup>22</sup>The best reference to this trip is in a letter written by W. A. Carter (Judge Carter's son, Willie) to John Rollinson when he was gathering material for his book, *Wyoming Cattle Trails*. "My father sent about two thousand Oregon cows, with bulls bought in Missouri, in charge of Peter McCulloch to Stinking Water Range in 1879."

Moore had previously managed a store for Carter at Camp Brown in the Lander area before he became post trader at Fort Washakie.

McCulloch had been associated with the Judge at his Willow Creek operation south of Fort Bridger for ten years so Carter entrusted him with the responsibility of moving the 2000 head of cattle onto new rangeland hundreds of miles north.

McCulloch had the usual crew of eight and a cook (the Black man, Dick Sparks) on that first cattle drive to the Big Horn Basin. The cowboys who accompanied McCulloch were typical cowboys in that period. Pictures show them all wearing the high-crowned Stetson, the crown not dented and the brim unrolled, somewhat smaller and narrower brim than the Texas style. Almost every man had a mustache and a short haircut. Vests and neckerchiefs were favored, heavy trousers and stout boots or shoes worn. They might have worn blue army shirts and pants which they could buy from soldiers at the fort. "The soldiers were generally broke and always ready to sell their shirts and pants which made excellent garments for a cowpuncher to wear."<sup>23</sup>

Most of them were young. Typical was Robert Hamilton, son of Dick (Richard) Hamilton, one of the original executives of the Carter Cattle Company. He was born in 1870 and when his mother died when he was seven, William Lewis Wheeler, assistant foreman under Mr. Hamilton, took the boy and reared him.<sup>24</sup> Harriet Curtis, Carter's cook, also helped care for the boy.<sup>25</sup>

Rob Hamilton started working at the age of eight, taking care of the brood mares for the Carter Cattle Company, wrangling the saddle stock for the Carter Cattle Company as well as the saddle stock for the cowboys, for which he received board and room and clothing. He did not go on the first Carter cattle drive but when he was fourteen he signed on the payroll as a paid cowboy at the

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<sup>23</sup>Rollinson, *Wyoming Cattle Trails*, p. 119.

<sup>24</sup>"Dick Hamilton's first wife was an Indian squaw and they had three children that I know of. He married a white woman and the squaw died of a broken heart. The white woman was the mother of Charles Hamilton." Pauline McCulloch, letter, February 4, 1979.

<sup>25</sup>This information is taken from a long article about Robert Hamilton printed after he died April 16, 1961. *Rock Springs Rocket*, April 27, 1961. Despite the rigors of cowboy life, Rob Hamilton lived to be 91 years old. Many of his contemporaries around Fort Bridger lived well past ninety, which was unusual for that era. He was friendly, intelligent and capable, and an expert with horses. In 1890 he married Ethel May Hewitt. She died in 1940, just two days after their 50th wedding anniversary. When he was 89, he married Nora Moss, a granddaughter of Harriet Curtis, and at that time, he was said to have a mouthful of fine teeth, a full head of hair, good eyesight and hearing.

going wage of \$40 per month for the third major Carter cattle drive.<sup>26</sup>

At the end of the first cattle drive in 1879, the crew established their headquarters above the Stinking Water Canyon on Carter Creek. It was October, 1879.<sup>27</sup> The creek and Carter Mountain were named by McCulloch for his boss, Judge William A. Carter of Fort Bridger.<sup>28</sup>

The land feature named for McCulloch, McCulloch Peaks,<sup>29</sup> was used for grazing the horse herd. The Peaks rise abruptly for 2000 feet from the bank of the Shoshone River, due east of Heart Mountain, and taper off for fifteen miles eastward. The two highest points are 6547 feet and 6513 feet.<sup>30</sup> The area is bounded on the west and north by the Shoshone River and on the east by Coon Creek. Coon Creek was named by McCulloch for Dick Sparks.<sup>31</sup>

The larger stream draining the peaks area was named "Virgin Creek" by McCulloch. The name was later changed to "Whistle Creek."

Geologically, the Peaks are of the Eocene Willwood formation, clay and shale with some pockets and fans of alluvial deposits from the recent Pleistocene era. They are typical of "badlands" found throughout Wyoming. The vegetation is sparse and no trees grow because the area receives only twelve inches of rainfall each year. Some grass is good for grazing horses and sheep although cattle do well on the lower slopes.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>The winter of 1884-1885 was severe. Rob never forgot the freezing snow and ice of that year. The horses' feet had to be wrapped in gunny sacks and canvas to protect them from the jagged, cutting ice. The men had to spend every spare moment cutting willow branches for the hungry animals.

<sup>27</sup>Rollinson, *Wyoming Cattle Trails*, p. 209. They stayed for two years at his place and its exact location is now uncertain. It could have been in the area inundated when the Shoshone (Buffalo Bill) Reservoir was filled in 1910.

<sup>28</sup>Some historians were somehow given erroneous information about these names. For example, one writer has both the creek and the mountain named for a Dr. Carter. Mae Urbanek, *Wyoming Place Names* (Boulder: Johnson Publishing Co., 1974), p. 40. Another writer has it named for a Charles Carter. Paul Frison, *Calendar of Change* (Worland: Serlkay, Inc., n.d.) p. 65. This error is perpetuated in a paperback, *Wyoming on Review*, 1966, distributed to elementary school teachers in Wyoming.

<sup>29</sup>On the Department of Interior, USGS Geologic Map of Wyoming, the Peaks are spelled "McCulloch."

<sup>30</sup>Letter, John Bereman, Park County Surveyor, September, 1978.

<sup>31</sup>Edith Keller remembers her grandfather talking about the cook as "The Old Coon" or "That Old Coon." It was not derogatory. *The Cody Enterprise*, October 1, 1930, incorrectly states that "Grundy Hall, a hod carrier, was the first colored man to set foot in this section of the country." Sparks came in 1879. He died in a blizzard going from Carter Ranch to Trail Creek just before Christmas, 1887.

<sup>32</sup>During the 1920s and 1930s, wild horses roamed there.

The main spring of water on the south-central side of the Peaks is now known as "Markham Spring." Old-timer Brownie Newton of Cody remembered riding in the Peaks before World War I when there was, at the foot of the hill below the spring, a dugout which was known as the "McCulloch dugout."<sup>33</sup> This was probably built and used by McCulloch and his riders when they were in the area checking on cattle and later when they were running horses there. When the author visited the spring and the "old Stone Barn" at that location, there was very little evidence of the dugout except an 8 by 10-foot excavation in the side of the hill which showed evidence of having been walled up with sandstone slabs.<sup>34</sup>

Many small round sandstone nodules the size of marbles are exposed on the hillsides while the ledges of outcrop are perfect locations for rattlesnakes. Indian paintbrush and blue lupine grow among the sagebrush and buffalo grass in the springtime. Carter Mountain's foothills can be seen in one direction and the snow-capped Big Horns are in view in the other. The Department of Interior map shows a "McCulloch Corral" near the headwaters of Whistle Creek. This probably was used legitimately or unlawfully through the years, as the case may be, by people rounding up horses in the Peaks area.<sup>35</sup>

McCulloch and his cowboys were not the first group of white men to visit the Big Horn Basin. Two large government parties and numerous goldseekers had entered the area before 1879.

A U.S. Government survey party led by Captain William A. Jones of the Corps of Engineers came in 1859. They left Fort Bridger on June 12 with eleven wagons, a four month's supply of provisions and Jim Bridger as a guide. They crossed South Pass, went through the Wind River valley, and into the Big Horn Basin during the course of their surveys.<sup>36</sup> Captain Jones named the Washakie Needles on June 19, 1859, and Bridger gave Jones' survey party the names of Grass Creek and Soap Creek on July 22.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Brownie Newton, telephone conversation, July, 1978.

<sup>34</sup>Old-timer Lloyd Tennyson and Myrtle Freeborg Tennyson of Cody showed the author the McCullough Peaks area in June of 1978. The large "Stone Barn" is very interesting but no one can recall who built it.

<sup>35</sup>The Wyoming Highway Department *County Map of Park County* shows dozens of tiny tributaries flowing into Whistle Creek from the McCullough Peaks area. The creek is used for irrigation as it flows into Big Horn County south of Byron.

<sup>36</sup>Bvt. Brig. Gen. W. F. Reynolds, *Report of the Exploration of the Yellowstone River* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1868), pp. 54-55.

<sup>37</sup>Many other place names were translations of Indian names or names used by trappers. For example, the Big Horn River was called Ets-pot-agie by the Crow Indians. The Popo Agie, another Crow name that remained untranslated, meant "(Buffalo) head water." Heart Mountain and Stinking Water River were named in 1807.

In 1877 Colonel Wesley Merritt and a unit of the Fifth Cavalry marched from Fort D. A. Russell to Fort Washakie and north through the Owl Creek mountains over the pass named for the general. They camped near Heart Mountain (near the present site of Cody, Wyoming), where they were joined by the other half of the regiment that had marched from a camp on Clear Fork, east of the Big Horn mountains, through Pryor's Gap to the Stinking Water.<sup>38</sup> Both units then attempted to link up with Seventh Cavalry troops who were chasing Chief Joseph and his Nez Perce band. They were unable to catch the Seventh so on September 27, the regiment backtracked to Fort Washakie.<sup>39</sup>

Later, goldseekers came into the Big Horn Basin, although much of the land bordering the area had been set aside for the Crow Indians and the government had ordered settlers and miners to keep off the reservation.<sup>40</sup>

Luther S. Kelly, a scout at Fort Keogh,<sup>41</sup> was sent to patrol the area. He wrote about a trip in July 1878:<sup>42</sup>

Learning that there was a small camp of prospectors somewhere along the face of the mountain (Rattlesnake) I rode up there accompanied by one of the other men. It proved to be the tail end of what was known as the 'Whitmore stampede.' The story goes that years before, when it was not safe to travel in these mountains, a miner of that name had found a rich prospect; he had been compelled to leave, and when he returned with a strong party he could not find the place he had located. Now here he was again with a following from the Black Hills, miners, lawyers, even judges, eager for the

<sup>38</sup>The Stinking Water was changed to "Shoshone" by the Wyoming legislature in 1902. The Ruby River near the Tobacco Root mountains of Montana was once called the Stinkingwater. Rollinson, *Wyoming Cattle Trails*, p. 135. Montana's famous James Gemmell lived near Sheridan, Montana, between the river and the Tobacco Roots. The Gemmells and the McCullochs were related.

<sup>39</sup>Paul L. Hedren, ed., "Eben Swift's Army Service on the Plains," *Annals of Wyoming*, Spring, 1978, p. 149.

<sup>40</sup>"The Crow Reservation included all of that part of Montana lying south and east of the Yellowstone and west of the 107th Meridian . . ." Mark H. Brown, *The Plainsmen of the Yellowstone* (New York: Putnam's, 1961), p. 336. The Montana-Wyoming line was the southern boundary.

<sup>41</sup>Although Robert A. Murray points out that a "scout" was defined by Act of Congress, July 28, 1866, as "an Indian . . .", it seems awkward to change the usage to any other word. Murray, "The John 'Portugee' Phillips Legend," *Annals of Wyoming*, April, 1968, p. 43.

<sup>42</sup>It could be because of the possibility of a gold rush in that region that Victor Arland and John Corbett started a trade store up Trail Creek, not far from Whitmore's strike, in 1880. Business was poor at this location so in July, 1883, they moved down near the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. David J. Wasden, *From Beaver to Oil* (Cheyenne: Pioneer Printing, 1973), p. 215.



—Courtesy of Ester Johansson Murray

West side of the shed built on the Carter Ranch when McCulloch was foreman. The door on the opposite side of the shed bears the initials W.H. and L.W.

quest. Whitmore, with two men, had gone in search of the find and the rest of the party remaining in camp awaiting their return.

As the discovery prospect was manifestly off the Crow Reservation I did not see any reason for disturbing these people.<sup>43</sup>

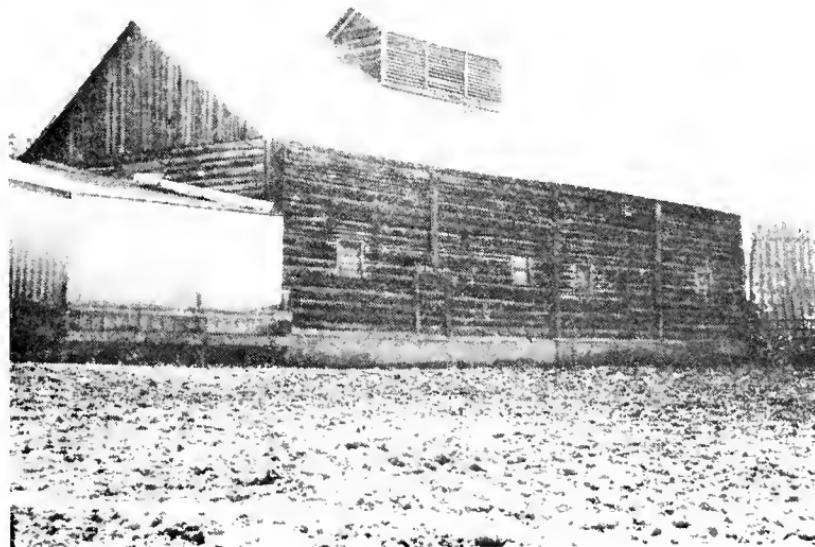
The next year McCulloch and the Carter cattle came into the Basin and established the Carter ranch.

The author visited the Carter Ranch area with old-timer Van Jernberg and his wife Maxine in July, 1978. Still standing is an original building now used as a storage shed. It is 18 by 20 feet, laid up ten large logs high with pole strips for caulking. One window is on the north side and one on the west and the door faces

<sup>43</sup>M. M. Quaife, ed., *Yellowstone Kelly: The Memoirs of Luther S. Kelly* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926), pp. 216-217. Kelly further related that he came upon a prospector's camp in the draw between Heart Mountain and Rattlesnake Mountain. The greenhorns had camped in a ravine and a cloudburst and flash flood had sluiced away their supplies and left boulders strewn about their camp.

east. It was very rewarding to find the initials "W. H." neatly carved high on the left door jamb. On the door itself are simple, knifed initials about two inches high, "W. H." and "L. W." These are most likely initials carved by Will Harvey, Peter's nephew, and Lew Wheeler, assistant range foreman. Will Harvey accompanied his uncle on several trips to the Stinking Water range.

Another original Carter Company building is one that Bob Edgar brought down from Carter Mountain and reconstructed at his Old Trail Town west of Cody. It is a one room 20 x 14 feet, high-ceilinged cabin, known as the "W. A. Carter cabin." It was probably owned by men getting logs and timber from the forest, or by cowboys as an upper cow camp cabin. The cabin is built of very large logs, 14 to 20 inches in diameter. It has one door and on the opposite side only one small window, made by cutting about two feet out of two logs. With its high ceiling it has a fairly steep pitch to the roof, and the five roof beams are counterbalanced and braced for withstanding the heavy snows. Eight large



—Courtesy of Ester Johansson Murray

The main barn on the Carter Ranch, the west side of which is shown here, may have been built before 1900. It is the same type construction as the shed built in the 1880s.

logs are laid up on the sides and eleven logs on the gable ends. The floor is strongly constructed with huge log floor joists of a type unusual to find in a cabin.

At the time McCulloch came into the area there were a great many grizzly bears around. It took strong walls to keep a grizzly out of a cabin. There were also Shoshone and Crow Indians wandering in and out of their hunting territory. Such a cabin would help keep out unwanted visitors.

There were a great many newspapers and magazines under the cabin floor when the cabin was dismantled. Among them was a copy of *Field and Forest* published in 1878.

Apparently, McCulloch made frequent trips between Fort Bridger and the Carter operation on the Stinking Water. The recollections of W. H. Harvey give a good description of one trip made in 1881.<sup>44</sup>

On May 13, 1881, McCulloch and his two nephews, W. H. and Robert Harvey, loaded a Bain wagon<sup>45</sup> with a year's supply of clothing, a mower, hay rake, and plow and set out for the return trip to what was already known as the Carter ranch on the Stinking Water. They stopped in Lander to get some vegetable seeds and seed potatoes that McCulloch wanted for a garden.<sup>46</sup>

At Fort Washakie a man from the Carter ranch met them. He brought a heavy wagon and three yoke of oxen, sometimes called work cattle, which were used as much as horses or mules for freighting at that time.

J. K. Moore, the post trader at Fort Washakie, was out of flour so W. H. Harvey went back to Lander for a load of flour, delaying their departure for three days. It was 150 miles to the ranch and Fort Washakie was the nearest post office.<sup>47</sup>

A letter written later that same year by McCulloch to Judge Carter under the heading of "Stinking Water Basin" tells about

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<sup>44</sup>Rollinson, *Wyoming Cattle Trails*, p. 202.

<sup>45</sup>"Bain was one of the manufacturers of wagons of that period, like Studebaker, Mitchell, etc. The name was stenciled somewhere on the box. If you owned a Bain, it was a good one." Letter, Nick Eggenhofer to author, Dec. 12, 1978. Eggenhofer is author of *Wagons, Mules and Men: How the Frontier Moved West* (New York: Hastings House, 1961).

<sup>46</sup>It was recorded that he had a very good garden. McCulloch was an avid gardener all his life.

<sup>47</sup>Rollinson, *Wyoming Cattle Trails*, pp. 202-203.

some of the problems associated with ranching in the 1880s. The letter is dated December 14, 1881.<sup>48</sup>

Dear Judge

Thinking it might interest you to hear how matter is here and feeling some anxiety myself to hear from the outside world have concluded to start a man to Washakie tomorrow morning for mail and a few little articles we need. I wrote to you last month when Belknap went out.

Curiously, his reason for writing Carter was that he felt some "anxiety" to hear from the outside world. The anxiety may have been caused by the fact that Judge Carter had died a month earlier, November 7, 1881, from pleurisy and/or pneumonia, and no word had yet reached his foreman in northern Wyoming.<sup>49</sup>

Captain Belknap, a mutual friend, had settled seven miles farther up the Southfork of the Stinking Water on Belknap Creek. The Captain's summer cow camp across the river and farther upstream was known as the "T E Ranch" and was later sold to Colonel Cody.

The letter was to be sent to Fort Washakie by courier—an employee of the ranch. Another source of mail delivery might have been John W. (Josh) Deane who had started a private mail route in the Big Horn Basin in the late 1870s. Deane carried the mail between Fort Washakie and Stillwater, Montana. Over the years mail service improved and in 1884, A. J. Reese had a contract to carry mail twice a week from Fort Washakie to Meeteetse, this being an extension of the Rawlins line to Fort Washakie. Reese, in turn, subleased the route to Leonard Short and Finn McCoy for \$3,785 per year for a period of four years.<sup>50</sup> In 1887, Al Bell started a stage line between Red Lodge, Montana, and Meeteetse, Wyoming. It was an important transportation link until 1901, when the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad built a spur line from Toluca, Montana, to Cody, Wyoming.

The first post office in the Basin was "Frank" which began operation on April 6, 1882. The name was changed to "Franc" on September 15 and on June 14, 1883, the post office was

<sup>48</sup>The letter was loaned by Pauline McCulloch, Mountain View, Wyoming. She gives the history of the letter: "The original was found in the officer's quarters at Fort Bridger in 1933. A woman from Ogden picked it up for a souvenir. She showed it to Lyle Harvey in Ogden, and when she learned he was McCulloch's nephew, she gave it to him. He passed it on to Lou McCulloch who then passed it on to Henry McCulloch (Peter's son known as Uncle Cap) who had it for many years. Henry gave it to Pauline before he died and she returned the original to Lou in Mountain View."

<sup>49</sup>Edith Keller said her mother, Peter's daughter Mary, also seemed to have this type of extrasensory perception.

<sup>50</sup>Wasden, *From Beaver to Oil*, p. 225.

changed to Meetetse. Arland post office was started November 10, 1885.<sup>51</sup>

The rest of the McCulloch letter to Carter in 1881 consists of a business report.

About that time we had a short spell of bad weather but since that time we have had very good weather. The country is clear of snow and the stock is looking very well. I mentioned in my last letter about some calves dying with black leg. Was in hopes at that time it had stopped but it still lingers in the herd yet but not to an alarming extent. Have seen six head died since last time I wrote. I am very sorry to see any of them dying but cannot prevent it—The number of cattle belonging to you that I have counted this season on the range from one year old upward—including the Bulls delivered here in October is 2568 and the number of calves Branded this Season 925. making the total number 3493--

The 26 per cent increase in the size of the herd that year was not outstanding. Even though he asked for more cattle the next spring, the second herd was not driven north until 1883.

McCulloch then described the Carter Ranch:

I have built a good stable, 20 x 40 feet and a horse corral and hay yard and now I am building a wagon shed and making posts to fence hay meadows. I intend to move the corral that I first built and make it larger and connect it with the meadow fence in that way the material will make a much larger corral and have the meadow fence for a wing making it convenient to corral wild cattle, perhaps you will ask why I did not remain at the old place and add the improvements I am making to what was already there. Will answer by saying where the old place stands there is not enough room to make such improvements, no hay land convenient and poor water in the spring no place near by to picket a horse. Up here at the new place it is different, a good meadow about 400 yds from the house good water at all times good place to picket horses in all directions from the house a good body of fine land convenient to the house, it is just the place where most any person looking for a good place to locate in this Basin would have picked on—

I keep one team hauling timber from the mountain every day have not been able to haul much hay yet on account of the rivers they are partially frozen over which makes them bad to cross. As soon as they close over solid I intend to pitch in and haul it all and have done with it.

I think I have enough provisions on hand with the exceptions of a few small articles to run the ranch until the first of next June. the man I had working here two months in the fall had some grub he wanted to sell when he left here, 280 lb flour and some coffee and sugar and a number of other small articles in the grub line so I bought all he had so that helps out a good deal. I want to run the ranch and the herd as economical as I possibly can. I have run it this season with less men and horses according to the number of cattle than any other herd in this country and I think have done the work

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<sup>51</sup>Daniel Y. Meschter, *Wyoming Territorial and Pre-Territorial Post Offices* (Rawlins: The Stationers, 1971), pp. 8, 11, 14.

as thoroughly and will try and do so as long as I remain here in charge. I hope you will try and get more cattle in here as early as possible next spring, give my regards to Mr. Hamilton and all the old friends, hoping this may find you and family all well.

I remain,  
Yours Respectfully,  
Peter McCulloch

McCulloch's dedication to his work illustrates a typical Scottish trait. Edward Everett Dale gives much credit to the Scots. "It was largely through the efforts of the Scots that the Great Plains area eventually came to have cattle immeasurably superior to those of most other parts of the United States. Most important of all, perhaps, they brought to the cattlemen's empire of grass rare business ability, thrift, foresight and sound judgement . . ."<sup>52</sup>

The financial rewards he received can best be illustrated by an entry from a Carter ledger dated January 21, 1881:

Sundries to Peter McCulloch	90167
Herd Acct., feeding cattle on Willow Creek,	
Jan. to March 1879. 100.00	
17 head of cattle (branded in Spring '80)	
" 15.00	355.00
Expense work at Ft. Bridger, from	
June 10 to August 10, 1880. 40.00	
Oats raised in 1879. 40.00	80.00
Hay Acct., work in hay field from Aug. 10,	
to Oct. 29, 1880; 2 mos 20 days " 60.00,	
160.00	
board of men in hayfield, aggregating	
13 mos. 19 days, " 20.00. 272.67	432.67
Wood Acct., work from Oct. 29 to Nov. 15,	
1880, 17 days " \$60.00 a month	34.00 <sup>53</sup>

From this account it appears that when he was on the payroll his regular monthly salary was \$60, which was \$20 more than cowboys were paid at this time. However, payment to him varied according to different contracts and jobs.

The Carter ranch, which was established by McCulloch, has had several owners. W. A. Carter, the judge's son, wrote about the Carter company:

The Carter Cattle Co., was organized in 1885, and my mother transferred to it all of the cattle in both herds, and divided the shares of stock in the company among all of her children. I was made man-

<sup>52</sup>Edward Everett Hale, *Cow Country* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1945), p. 105.

<sup>53</sup>William Alexander Carter Papers, *Accounts*, v. 14 (Day Book, Aug. 1, 1880 to Dec. 1884). Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

ager of the Company. When the company was formed we adopted the bug brand, placed on the left side.<sup>54</sup>

As far back as July of 1885, Colonel William F. Cody obtained a territorial permit for 2.88 cubic feet of water for 202 acres, from the Carter-Groshon Ditch. The headgate was located on Carter Creek, Sec. 24, T. 51, R. 103.

On April 16, 1894, Maurice Groshon and Lulie (Lucy) Carter Groshon sold back the 640 acres and water rights of the Carter Ranch to Mary E. Carter, Judge Carter's widow. It is recorded that on November 21, 1900, William F. Cody bought the water deed for part of Sec. 11, 12, 13, and 14, T. 51, N. of Range 103, for 640 acres. On the 20th October, 1909, William F. Cody paid \$3000 to Maurice Groshon *et ux* for a warranty deed to the 640 acres described above.

Cody sold the Carter Ranch to William Robertson Coe in 1911. The ranch is presently owned by H. L. Hunt Oil Company, a Texas corporation.

The property had been in Sweetwater County in 1879, then Fremont, Big Horn and finally, Park County.<sup>55</sup>

In the brand designation for the Carter Cattle Company in the 1885 Brand book of the Wyoming Stock Grower's Association, it states that W. A. Carter was the General Manager. He became manager after the reorganization of the company following his father's death. The post office address was given as Fort Bridger, Uinta County, Wyoming. Two herds are listed, the Uinta Herd and the Shoshone River Herd.

The range for the Shoshone river herd was given as the "Shoshone or Stinking Water river and tributaries east of Yellowstone Park. Peter McCulloch, foreman. P.O. Address, Meeteetse, Sweetwater Co., Wyoming."

All Carter cattle brands before roundup in the spring of 1884 were cross on the left hip, cross on left upper leg, and C on left jaw. After 1884 their new brand was the "bug" 

on the left side. Horses were branded in any of three ways: cross on left shoulder; C on left jaw; or bug on left thigh.

<sup>54</sup>Rollinson, *Wyoming Cattle Trails*, p. 305. John Dyer brought the second herd north in 1883. It consisted of 2000 head. The third and last cattle drive of Carter cattle was in 1884, when Peter McCulloch brought 4000 head into the Stinking Water range. This would technically be considered two herds. There were heavy losses in the winter of 1884-1885.

<sup>55</sup>When Sweetwater County was called Carter County, South Pass City was the county seat. From 1864 to 1868 the southwest corner of Wyoming, (what is now Uinta County) was part of Green River County, Utah. With Judge Carter's influence in Washington, D. C., it became part of Wyoming. Carter should be given credit for making Wyoming a square state.

There isn't much information available about McCulloch during the years 1881 until he left the area in 1896. It is known that his wife Margaret made moves back and forth between Iowa and Fort Bridger during that period.

Margaret McCulloch's first two children were born at Fort Bridger, but the third child was born in Muscatine, Iowa, in April, 1877. The next two children were born at the ranch on Willow Creek, south of Fort Bridger, the first in March, 1879, the second in March, 1881. In 1881 when Peter went into the Stinking Water area for a year, Margaret moved to Iowa, probably to Villisca, where they were buying property. However, she was back in Wyoming Territory when her last son was born at Smith's Fork in August, 1883.<sup>56</sup> Her final move to Iowa was sometime before 1889.

A handwritten deed records that on September 10, 1881, the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad sold to Peter McCullough [*sic*] and Robert Gemmell, 160 acres of land in Montgomery County, Iowa, for which the buyers paid \$1600.<sup>57</sup> Robert Gemmell was Peter's brother-in-law and a relative (most likely the son) of the famous James Gemmell mentioned earlier in this article.

In 1882 the Northern Pacific Railroad reached Huntley, Montana, and the Carter cattle were the first to be loaded out of the new stock yards by Peter McCulloch.<sup>58</sup> This was Old Huntley on the north bank of the Yellowstone about a mile upstream from the present town.<sup>59</sup> Huntley had been a post office on the Yellowstone valley stage route since November 16, 1877. Many cattle drives were made to the Northern Pacific until closer rail service reached the Big Horn Basin.

A reference to Peter McCulloch is found in the diary of William Alford Richards, a surveyor who was looking for a place in the Big Horn Basin to build an irrigation ditch off the Big Horn River. (Richards later became governor of Wyoming, serving from 1885 to 1889.) In his entry for November 9, 1884, Richards was camped at the Kirby cabin on Kirby Creek. This is a tributary of the Big Horn River that runs into it from the southeast corner of the Big Horn Basin. The Kirby Creek route was a southeast entrance to the Big Horn Basin first pioneered by Jim Bridger.

<sup>56</sup>The McCulloch children were: Mary Ellen, Nov. 11, 1872; Louis Robert, Sept. 26, 1875; Douglas Harvey, April 11, 1877; Fredrick Sinclair, March 4, 1879; Charles Edgar, March 15, 1881; Henry Belknap (called "Cap"), August 28, 1883.

<sup>57</sup>Margaret Matson has the original deed. Margaret's mother was a Shurtliff.

<sup>58</sup>Interview, Edith Keller.

<sup>59</sup>Edith Keller, "Peter McCulloch," *Sod 'n'Seed Tumbleweed*, Huntley Project History Committee, n.d.

Richards wrote in his diary, "Able and I went up to Kirby 5 miles. Dry, hard looking country. Not what I am looking for. Returned to camp. Mr. McCulloch, a cattleman from west stayed with us. Nov. 10, 1884. McCulloch went up creek. We went down . . ."<sup>60</sup>

It is unclear whether McCulloch was scouting for cattle or on his way to Fort Bridger. By 1884, the road from Fort Bridger to Meeteetse had been greatly improved. The route from Fort Washakie that crossed the Owl Creek mountains at Merritt Pass, crossed the South Fork of Owl Creek at the Embar Ranch, Grass Creek at the LU ranch and Gooseberry Creek at the McDonald ranch was designated a county road by Fremont County in 1884.

Victor Arland and John Corbett who had started their little store up Trail Creek in 1880, in July, 1883, moved it down on Cottonwood Creek. In March of 1884, they moved over on Meeteetse Creek where most of the cattle activity was.<sup>61</sup> It was during the winter of 1884-1885, which was a hard one in northern Wyoming, that Arland estimated cattle losses of 10-15 percent.<sup>62</sup>

Arland estimated there were 30,000 head of cattle between the Stinking Water and the Greybull river and fifteen cattle outfits, so the stock business had mushroomed in just five years. It was during these years that McCulloch was acclaimed "King of the Cowboys."

Sometime before 1886, McCulloch must have taken up a homestead on the South Fork of Owl Creek, because in 1886 McCulloch sold his water rights to the Embar Cattle Company.<sup>63</sup>

McCulloch needed a capable crew to take care of the 7500 cattle they were running in the Stinking Water area in 1886.<sup>64</sup>

It took a great many horses for a crew of cowboys to take a small herd of horses from Fort Bridger to the Carter Ranch. In 1887, Peter hired his nephew W. H. Harvey (his sister Agnes' son) and Bill Smalley to help him drive the horses from Fort Bridger north. It took seven days to get to Lander where they stopped for three days to get some horses shod. Six more days on the trail and they reached the ranch. "We rode all day hard and took turns on night herding the horses."<sup>65</sup>

By 1887 many ranches were running cattle in the Big Horn Basin. Among the bigger operators were Otto Franc (Pitchfork). Belknap, Johnson, Ashworth, and Lovell. Roundups were care-

<sup>60</sup>Frison, *Calendar of Change*, pp. 105, 109.

<sup>61</sup>Wasden, *From Beaver to Oil*, p. 215.

<sup>62</sup>Bob Edgar and Jack Turnell, *Brand of a Legend*. (Cody: Stockade Publishing, 1978), p. 51.

<sup>63</sup>Frison, *Calendar of Change*, p. 313.

<sup>64</sup>Wasden, *From Beaver to Oil*, p. 112.

<sup>65</sup>Rollinson, *Wyoming Cattle Trails*, p. 204.

fully supervised and set up by the Board of Live Stock Commissioners of Wyoming. By 1891, there were thirty-eight districts. Each district was under a roundup foreman or "commissioner." The upper Greybull and Stinking Water tributaries were in District 16, and the order of time and place of the roundup was carefully scheduled. Otto Franc was often roundup foreman, sometimes for District 20 and, in 1891, for District 16.<sup>64</sup>

After the fall roundup of 1887, the Carter cattle to be shipped were cut out and McCulloch began driving them to Huntley, Montana, as they had been doing since 1882, to ship on the Northern Pacific.

After they had been moving the cattle northward for two days, a rider met them with a telegram for McCulloch from "Willie" Carter with orders to drive the beef herd to Rock River (west of Laramie) and ship the cattle on the Union Pacific.<sup>65</sup>

This change of plans disgruntled some of the men who refused to turn around and McCulloch had a hard time getting a sufficient crew. A promise of extra pay encouraged one man to stay on, so he and W. H. Harvey did all the night herding.

They made about ten miles a day. When they were in the vicinity of Independence Rock on the Sweetwater they hit rain and sought shelter at a ranch owned by a man named Averill and his "wife." They asked Mrs. Averill if they could throw their beds down in a large shed near the house. She said, "No, you boys come right in. No cowboy is going to sleep in a cowshed while we have a house."<sup>66</sup>

The Carter cowboys were given hot coffee and good meals. The Averills kept a supply of groceries and McCulloch bought all they could spare. Averill and his companion, who was known as "Cattle Kate," were hanged as cattle thieves two years later on July 20, 1889, near Independence Rock.

McCulloch never lost his Gaelic accent and loved Scottish music and songs. Perhaps while crossing these Wyoming plains the men sang this old cowboy song called "Short Grass and Heather."

I was born and bred in Scotland  
And I love its glens and cairns  
Though I alone have left it  
Of all my mother's bairns,  
Yes, I left its rugged mountains  
And its lakes like shiny glass

<sup>64</sup>Robert B. David, *Malcolm Campbell, Sheriff* (Casper: Wyomingana, Inc., 1932), p. 142.

<sup>65</sup>Telegraph lines were built along many main stage routes after the 1861 transcontinental telegraph line. This telegram probably was sent by messenger from Billings, Montana.

<sup>66</sup>Rollinson, *Wyoming Cattle Trails*, pp. 205-206.

To seek for fame and fortune  
In a land of sky and grass.  
Each day I ride the prairies wide  
In every kind of weather,  
But in my dreams it often seems  
I'm back amid the heather.

Scottish riders.<sup>69</sup>

A few more days of riding after leaving the Averills and they arrived at Rock River. Over a thousand head of large steers were loaded on November 8 and 9, 1887, and the cattle were sent to Carter's feedlots at Richland, in east-central Nebraska, about 60 miles from Omaha.

The winter of 1886-1887 hit northern Wyoming the hardest. "Willie" Carter is quoted in *Wyoming Cattle Trail*: "We lost the greater part of our herd there in the winter of 1886-87 . . . The remnants of the Stinking Water herd were sold by 1889, to John M. Holt." Holt had a ranch on the Powder River and lived in Miles City, Montana. Otto Franc wrote in his diary about the blizzards and freezing cattle. He noted for February 4, 1887: "Crow Indians call and dig out the guts and heads of frozen cows."<sup>70</sup>

Peter's granddaughters remember their grandfather talking about working for Captain Henry Belknap and mentioning the T E ranch on the Southfork of the Stinking Water. Peter admired Belknap and named his last son, who was born in 1883, Henry Belknap. Captain Henry Belknap was associated with early-day Billings real estate. He owned what was called the Belknap Block on the northeast corner of 28th Street and Montana Avenue, which housed the Billings Club, the Belknap Hotel and Belknap Grill.<sup>71</sup>

At least six notations in the Otto Franc diary for 1889 refer to Pete McCulloch which leads one to believe that he might at that time have been employed by S. A. Wilson and the YU Ranch, down the Greybull River from Meeteetse. "Pete calls and stops overnight, August 3, 1889 . . . Pete McCulloch and Tompkins

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<sup>69</sup>Hale, *Cow Country*, p. 88.

<sup>70</sup>Original diaries of Otto Franc in the Buffalo Bill Historical Center Archives.

<sup>71</sup>When Billings first became a town in 1883, they tried for artesian water, unsuccessfully digging a well nearly a 1000 feet deep. In 1885, the Billings Water and Power Company was formed with Henry Belknap, President, and W. J. Rowley, Secretary-Treasurer. By 1886 they had a producing plant with water for use and advertised, "Night and Day current for Lighting and Power purposes." Billings was the first city using electricity for power in the United States. This information was given by John Voelker of Billings Public Utility Department, 2251 Belknap Avenue, Billings, Montana. In the Billings City Directory for 1901, it lists Belknap as president of the Billings Water and Power Company, and his residence as St. Augustine, Florida. He is not listed in subsequent directories.

come to stay overnight, August 3, 1889 . . . Joe Cline and Pete come with some cattle from Stinking Water Basin roundup and stay overnight, Nov. 23, 1889 . . . S. A. Wilson and P. McCulloch pass and get dinner, Dec. 13, 1889 . . . P. McCulloch calls and bids goodbye, he is not coming back again, Dec. 15, 1889."

Although Pete bid his friends goodbye and said he wasn't going to return, he was back a little over a year later because Otto Frane has the following notations in his diary: "Mar. 9, 1891, McCulloch comes to stay over night and go with us to the Stock Meeting . . . Mar. 11, 1891, McCulloch stops overnight on his way home from the Stock Meeting . . . April 25, 1891, P. McCulloch calls and stays overnight . . . May 6, 1891, McCulloch stops overnight."

There was a lot of rain that year and Otto Frane noted the "grass is beautiful" and "splendid."

Another McCulloch letter is a very interesting one which he wrote to his nephew Will Harvey of Fort Bridger.

Arland, Wyoming

Oct. 29, 1891

Dear Will

Yours of the 18th inst. received today. Was glad to hear that you were all well. I just got back yesterday evening from a long and tedious trip. I left here the 2nd of Aug. with a herd of cattle and drove to within 30 miles of Medora on the Little Missouri the distance is upwards of 400 miles. That is the finest grass country I ever saw. Beeves shipped from that country always bring a high price in the market. There has been some shipped from there this year that sold for 6 cents and the lowest was 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ . There is a good demand for young steers in that country, there is a speculation in buying 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  & 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  & 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ , and driving them in to that country (how much can 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  & 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  be bought for around Bridger? and how many do you suppose could be bought around there?)

I believe there could be some Horses traded for cattle in this country. I think some of Driving up here next spring . . . I think they could be disposed of on Grey Bull . . . There has been a rich mineral strike made on Wood River. Jim Gemmell is up there now, he and Andy Chapman intend to work there all winter. I think there will be a big rush in there next spring.

We are having fine weather here now. I have some Range work to do yet and hope the weather will continue fine for a few weeks. Will Gemmell<sup>72</sup> has been with me since last April. I think he has got nearly all the cow punching he wants for awhile, he never knew what hard work was before. Night-guard went hard with him. I expect to gather the remainder of the Wilson cattle next spring and drive them to the Little Missouri. As soon as I finish work here this Fall I intend to go home for awhile. I just learned a short time since that you are a happy Father. Accept congratulations.

Have you any idea of how many horses there is in my bunch exclusive of the share that belongs to you boys and about how many cattle. In case I could buy some steers there next spring, I would drive what

<sup>72</sup>Will and Jim Gemmell are probably sons of Montana's famous James Gemmell, who probably knew fellow Scotsman McCulloch at Fort Bridger.

cattle I have with them. I think there is too many sheep in the Bridger Country ever to be a Beef Country again. If the people there do not set too high figures on their steers, I can get money enough to buy all the young steers in that country. Write soon and give me the Prices. Hope you are all well. My regards to all.

Your uncle,  
P. McCulloch<sup>73</sup>

The letter is evidence that Big Horn Basin cattle were driven to the Medora area on the Missouri. Mingusville, Montana, (later Wibaux) was a shipping point on the Northern Pacific thirty miles west of Medora, and perhaps the cattle were shipped from there as it was cheaper to trail cattle than to rail ship them.<sup>74</sup> It was a tedious trip, 800 horseback miles from August 2 to October 28, fighting heat and dust, cloudbursts, electrical storms and quicksand.

The Otto Franc diary settled a puzzling question of whether the cattle were trailed north through Pryor Gap and down the Yellowstone, or over the Bridger route, up Kirby Creek, over Bridger Pass and down Bridger Creek, then down the Powder River. The S. A. Wilson cattle were known as the YU herd. On July 25, 1891, Otto Franc wrote, "The YU herd comes past on its way to Powder River . . . July 29, 1891, Dave returns from Grass Creek where he has been looking through the YU herd and taking out the strays."

Theodore Roosevelt wrote that when he traveled from his Elk Horn ranch near Medora, to the Big Horns in 1884, following the Fort Keogh Trail part of the way, the Fort Keogh Trail connected Bismarck with Miles City and "the route was marked by a line of mounds of earth with a cedar post set in the center of each mound to which a piece of canvas was attached."<sup>75</sup>

Theodore Roosevelt complained of the difficulty of finding the way until he met a herd of cattle from the Big Horn country moving eastward. It was easy to backtrail them.<sup>76</sup>

The rich mineral strike mentioned in the letter is described in the Edgar-Turnell book: "During the summer of 1891, on Spar Mountain, at the head of Wood River, William Kirwin and Harry Adams were busy staking and filing gold claims. On September 7,

<sup>73</sup>In 1891 Will Harvey taught the first Fort Bridger area country school three miles east of Mountain View, according to Shurtliff, *Bridger Country*. Wyoming's first school was at Fort Laramie in 1852. Carter built the first school house in Wyoming at Fort Bridger in 1860. Mary McCulloch started school in it.

<sup>74</sup>Herman Hagedorn, *Roosevelt in the Bad Lands*, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1921), p. 242.

<sup>75</sup>Irene Jones, *Trails Along Beaver Creek*, (Wibaux, Montana: Wibaux Pioneer Gazette, 1976), p. 53.

<sup>76</sup>Carleton Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), p. 474.

1891, they and sixteen others formed the Wood River Mining District. The news of the discovery soon attracted more eager prospectors and investors into the region.<sup>77</sup>

James Gemmell emigrated from Ayreshire, Scotland to Canada, and participated in the Canadian rebellion of 1837, for which he was tried and found guilty. He was sent to Newgate Prison in London where prominent Americans interceded for him and his death sentence was softened to lifetime penal servitude in Australia. American seamen helped him to escape from there and he worked his way back to Massachusetts on a whaling vessel. He went west in 1843 and joined Jim Bridger in a trading and scouting trip in 1846. Later he worked for Brigham Young and after falling out with him, settled down in Madison County, Montana, where died on March 6, 1881, at the age of sixty-six. He was said to have had twenty-one children.<sup>78</sup>

Andy Chapman is also mentioned in his letter. The Chapmans came into the Pat O'Hara country and Andy took up a homestead on Trout Creek on the Northfork. He grazed his cattle between the Northfork and the Southfork of the Stinking Water. The area called Lake View, north of the Carter Ranch, before the building of the irrigation ditch was known as the Chapman Lease.<sup>79</sup> Andy Chapman had a bull raising operation in this area.

McCulloch wrote that he expected to gather the remainder of the Wilson cattle in the spring of 1892, and drive them to the Little Missouri. No information exists as to whether he made that trip.

He asked his nephew how many horses and cattle he had at Fort Bridger. At one time he had 100 head of horses and a small herd of cattle. His brand was called the Cornice  which he put on the left shoulder. Judge Carter helped him design this brand. He used a "6" brand on horses.<sup>80</sup>

Two more notations in Otto Franc's diary give a clue as to what McCulloch was doing: "Dec. 18, 1891, P. McCulloch stops overnight on his way East . . . Dec. 19, 1891, McCulloch leaves on his way East."

Like the bluebirds in the spring, Pete returned: "March 29, 1892, P. McCulloch stops overnight. Bluebirds have been here for several days."

The next two letters were written by McCulloch from Villisea,

<sup>77</sup>Edgar and Turnell, *Brand of a Legend*, p. 71.

<sup>78</sup>William Wheeler, "The Late James Gemmell," *Historical Society of Montana*, Vol. II, pp. 331-336.

<sup>79</sup>Interview with Van Jernberg, July, 1978.

<sup>80</sup>Lou McCulloch told Pauline McCulloch there were only two horses found with Peter's brand, and no cattle. Letter from Pauline McCulloch, Feb. 1979.

Iowa, to his nephew Will Harvey at Fort Bridger. They indicate his farming and stock raising there were taking a greater share of his interests and time. However, he stated on his Declaration for Pension, that his residence from 1879 to 1896 was Arland and Meeteetse, Wyoming. Arland died out in 1896. In his 1893 letter he stated he was planning to leave March 20 for Arland. He wrote about the probability of a railroad being built through the Big Horn Basin. The Burlington Railroad built a branch line from the Yellowstone Valley via Toluca to Cody in 1901. By 1906 the Burlington line ran from Laurel, Montana, via the Clarks Fork valley and the Big Horn valley southward to Greybull.

Villisca, Ia. Mar. 12th 1893

Dear Will

Your letter of Feb 22 was received some time ago and read with pleasure, was glad to hear that you were all well. I hope your winter has left you and your stock in good shape.

The winter seems to have left this country and we are now having fine weather. My stock is mostly in fair shape and I have yet a little hay on hand so I do not think there is much danger of loosing any now. I just purchased a Thorough bred short horn Bull and am going to try to raise some good cattle.

Well, Will, I do not know how times is going to be in Northern Wyo. this year. That country is being rapidly settled up and I expect that will affect wages for most all kinds of labor. There is a probability of a Rail Road being built through the Big Horn Basin this season in that event it would make things more lively. I expect to leave here the 20th for Arland. when I get there I will let you know what the prospects are. I think likely I have the memoranda—you gave me, will hunt it up when convenient—and send it to you. My kindest regards and best wishes to all your Folks. Accept same yourself.

Your uncle  
P. McCulloch

McCulloch then did not go via Fort Bridger but probably traveled to Billings and Red Lodge and then by stage from Red Lodge to Arland. It is possible that he was working for Belknap at this time as Belknap cattle were running in the Sage Creek Basin.

Another entry in Otto Franc's diary reads: "April 7, 1893, McCulloch calls and we arrange the roundup."

The last letter from McCulloch to his nephew discusses politics and prices:

Villisca, Ia. Nov. 8th 1896

Wm. H. Harvey, Esq.

Fort Bridger Wyo

Dear Will

Your welcome letter of the 5th inst. was received with check enclosed for which I am thankful. Was glad to hear that you were all well.

The election is over and I am well satisfied with the result. I believe business will revive and times will improve now very soon., the Cleveland administration has been very hard on all kinds of business and occupations, but, I believe a Bryan administration would have been still more disastrous.

Iowa has a great crop of corn this year but the price is very low. 17 cts per bushel. and hogs are worth about 3 cts, cattle are the only stock that keeps up a fair price., horses are very low and no demand. I wrote to George some time ago to enquire if I could pick up a car load of yearling steers in your neighborhood but did not get a reply. George wrote me before that, stating that yearling steers were selling for \$12 per head. I did intend coming out for a car load if they could be picked up conveniently. Jim Gourley told me there was some parties in there buying when he was there. I expect they have all been picked up by this time. Give my best wishes to all the folks. Kind regards to yourself and Family. This leaves us all well. and I hope it may find you all the same.

Your Uncle  
P. McCulloch

Republican William McKinley defeated the Democratic candidate William Jennings Bryan in the 1896 election. This was a satisfying election result for McCulloch who was a staunch Republican all his life.<sup>81</sup>

Benton, Iowa, is about 40 miles from Villisca, and a page from the Carter ledger for May 2, 1887, is titled "Benton Beef Feeding to P. McCulloch." The account expenses totalled \$7,710.76. Of this amount "P. McCulloch paid Benton Feeding \$245.50 for sales of wire."<sup>82</sup>

From working on the range, McCullough had become more involved in his own farm and stock raising operations and his connections with the Carter Company were mainly feedlot consignments.

In 1896 McCulloch's connection with the Stinking Water Basin came to an end.

While the McCullochs were living in Villisca, Iowa, their only daughter, Mary Ellen, married Morgan Horton in 1894. In 1906, the Hortons and the McCullochs moved to Erie, a small town in southeastern Kansas. The Hortons had eight children, and, three weeks after the father died of typhoid fever, the last baby was born. Peter McCulloch felt a great responsibility to provide for these eight fatherless grandchildren, of whom he was very proud.

After an unsuccessful four-year financial battle in drought-stricken Kansas, and after Morgan Horton's death, the family decided to move out West and take up homesteads under the new government Huntley irrigation project. They chose the Worden area. They loaded emigrant railroad cars with household furniture and livestock and left Erie, Kansas, on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad, later transferring to the Northern Pacific, arriving in Billings on March 10, 1910. The Belknap Hotel had no vacancies so the women and children spent a week in the Carlin

<sup>81</sup>Edith Keller interview.

<sup>82</sup>W. A. Carter Collection, Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department.

Hotel while final papers and arrangements were completed for the move to their new farms at Worden. Peter's son Fred accompanied the group West.

The family's money was deposited in the old First National Bank on Minnesota Avenue, P. B. Moss, President.<sup>83</sup> The bank, however, went broke in the 1910 financial crisis and they lost all their deposits.

Plans went forward and frame buildings were added to original log homesteads and the children started at a rural school called Riverside in the fall. The first teacher was a Mr. McDaniel. For discipline he used a rope with knots tied in it to hit the children. The Horton children, not having a father, were especially vulnerable until their Uncle Cap intervened.

Daughter Edith lived with her grandparents in Iowa, Kansas and at Worden. The McCullochs lived briefly from March 1917, to about 1918, at Wilsall, Montana. They moved back to Worden mainly because Edith's high school courses were disrupted by the move.

Edith described her grandfather: "He was a tall man, about 5 feet 10 inches, weighing about 185 pounds. He had a mustache and a small goatee, blue eyes and dark brown hair which turned grey in later years. He used a cane when rheumatism set in."

From 1915 to 1925, many neighbor children and grandchildren, (who at this writing are senior citizens), fondly remember the aging Peter and his lovely, neat and fastidious wife, Margaret. Edith, who loved her grandmother dearly, said she was as tall and stately as a queen.

Another granddaughter, Helen McCulloch Gonder of Missoula wrote:

Grandpa loved his oatmeal for breakfast and he had a certain cereal bowl that I liked which has a message in the bottom that could be read if one ate all the oatmeal. It said, "There's mere i' the kitchen." He played Scottish records on the old Victor phonograph. There was "I love a Lassie" and "There's a Wee Hewse Man the Heather." He had an accent just about like the popular singer, Harry Lauder.

Grace Kirch said, "He loved to sing along with the Harry Lauder records."

Lucille Baird Robinson, when she was a little girl, was a neighbor of the McCullochs. She said that Peter had all the Harry Lauder and John McCormick records he could get and used to listen to those Scotch jokes and laugh heartily, enjoying them each time he heard them.

Lucille said one story he told the children that she liked most

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<sup>83</sup>P. B. Moss became president of the Billings Water and Power Co., after Henry Belknap moved away.

of all went like this: One time Peter was out hunting for some lost horses when hostile Sioux Indians started chasing him. He had a fast horse and was keeping well ahead of them when he came to a narrow valley with mountains on both sides. He rode as fast as he could, the Indians behind him. Finally, he came to the end of the valley and there was a big lake with no way to ride to escape on either side of the lake. At this point the wide-eyed children would ask, "What happened then?" With a straight face he would answer, "They killed me!"

This story was a yarn told for the delight of the little children and although Peter was much given to kidding his wife, his stories were never embellished but were as accurate as he could remember them.

When her Grandma tried to teach Edith some Gaelic words, Grandpa would tease, "Tut, tut, tut, now you know Maggie, those aren't real words." Margaret and her family often spoke Gaelic among themselves.

Helen Gonder wrote:

How I wish that I had been older at the time when I lived with my grandparents, but at that time, Grandpa was a retired farmer with a homestead, a vegetable garden, a horse and buggy, a cow and chickens. That was when I was four or five years old, about 1919. Grandma always milked the cow as Grandpa's wrists no longer had the strength required. He could still hitch old Daisy to the buggy for the trip to the general store and the bank at Worden. Grandma always drove the horse, as Grandpa seldom went along.

Grandpa had one thumb nail which had a ridge down the center. He told us that a man who was out of his mind had bit his thumb and caused the nail to be deformed after that. He told many stories of experiences with Indians, and I can't remember a single one!<sup>84</sup>

He applied for a war pension after he turned sixty-five in Vilisca, Iowa, and again in Erie, Kansas, in 1907. It must have been granted because in 1909 he petitioned for an increase in pension. At the time of his death he was receiving \$50 per month. (After his death, Margaret received \$36 per month war widow's pension.)

In 1910 and again in 1915, he filled out forms of Declaration of Intention to become a U. S. citizen. On August 23, 1915, he became a naturalized citizen, renouncing his allegiance to George V of Great Britain.<sup>85</sup>

He loved horses, eats (at one time he had thirteen), children and gardening. His grandchildren remember he smoked a corn cob pipe after meals as they gathered around to hear the stories he

<sup>84</sup>Helen McCulloch Gonder, letter, October, 1978.

<sup>85</sup>The author is indebted to Elsie Martin of Lovell, Wyoming, a McCulloch relative, for copies of seventeen legal documents that were useful in verifying dates and places.



Peter McCulloch at the home place at Worden, Montana. The original photograph is in the McCulloch family album.

told of his adventures, some of which have been quoted above. He called his wife Maggie and liked to tease her about the many superstitions that hung on from childhood days in Wigton, Scotland.

He died on April 17, 1925, mourned by his wife and children and eighteen grandchildren, other relatives and numerous friends and acquaintances. His obituary in the *Billings Gazette* stated: "He was actively engaged in farming until a few years ago and was working about his garden this spring until only a few days before his death. He was very active for his years and had the appearance of a man thirty years younger."<sup>86</sup>

One final anecdote written down by Peter's sister Agnes is a McCulloch ghost story. Peter's great-great-grandfather in the 17th century killed his coachman and had to flee to France taking with him his only child. Meanwhile, his lawyer, named Maxwell, forged the deeds to the property and got possession of the estate. Agnes ended the tale by saying her grandfather "had

<sup>86</sup>Margaret McCulloch died July 20, 1934.

to go to work. That is the reason why our branch is known as the poor McCullochs."

The ghost part of the story is that it is said that the spectre of the murdered coachman used to wander over the scene of his death and through the castle up into the old watch tower. If he showed himself, it was a sure token of the death of one of the family.

If old Pete, King of the Cowboys, were around today he would enjoy the following story, from Donna Moore Kreutzmann.

From my childhood I had memories of conversations of a great-great-grandfather McCulloch, of a castle, and a sampler that had come from Scotland. So, in August 1977, I traveled to Scotland, hoping to find the home of my ancestors. We rented a room in a farm home in Wigton and our host said there [were] tourist brochures upstairs in the bedroom. When I opened them and saw pictures of Cardoness Castle, home of the McCullochs for five centuries, I gave out a western war whoop. Touring the castle and area was a deep emotional experience. My search had ended and I had a wonderful, satisfied feeling of finding my roots and the birthplace of my great-great-grandfather, Peter McCulloch.

## NEW DORMITORY PLACED IN SHAPE

### Director and Assistants are Busy Preparing Building for Arrivals Saturday

One of the busiest places on the campus these days is the new men's dormitory, which is receiving its final preparations for the reception of Freshman men on Saturday.

Two carloads of furniture arrived early in the week, and the mattresses came through the Laramie Furniture company, so with the exception of the furniture for the big room, the dormitory will be practically equipped.

R. E. McWhinnie, registrar and director of the residence hall, has had an army of assistants getting things ready, and thinks that the results will arouse considerable enthusiasm.

Mr. McWhinnie announces that he is to be assisted by Reginald C. Harris of the faculty, and that the University has secured the services of Mrs. Etta England as matron. In addition to that there will be three part-time student clerks, Winston Howard of Douglas, Lawrence Rice of Cheyenne and Jack Shuck of Casper.

Mr. McWhinnie has drawn up a set of rules and regulations which will serve for the time being until an organization of the students themselves is effected, through which it is hoped to govern the life of the dormitory. It is the intention to make these rules and regulations as simple and few as possible, merely making them to serve to promote the finest possible use of this new addition to the University life.

*The Laramie Republican-Boomerang*  
September 13, 1928

# *Seeing Wyoming From a Studebaker E.M.F. in 1909*

## Introduction

In recent correspondence with the Historical Research and Publications Division to obtain information about her pioneer Wyoming family, Mrs. Nancy Williams Bechtold, of Arlington, Texas, offered to donate to the Division a copy of her grandfather's account of a 1909 automobile trip through Wyoming. Her offer was accepted, and in due time the manuscript arrived for deposit.

The editorial staff of *Annals of Wyoming* felt the manuscript "Seeing Wyoming From a Studebaker E.M.F. in 1909" was such an entertaining and informative bit of Wyoming history that it should be shared with *Annals* readers.

The author, Calvin Wesley Williams, who was state immigration agent in 1909, wrote about the tour thirty years after the experience. Complete biographical information about him is not available, but he was an active newspaperman in Wyoming in the early 1900s.

Williams edited the *Guernsey Gazette* in 1903 or 1904 and was editor of the *Rawlins Republican* in 1908 and 1909. He founded the *Hartville Uplift* in February, 1910, and was editor of the newspaper. He was mayor of Hartville about the same time.

Later he ran a newspaper in Greeley, Colo. In the 1930's he edited *Wyoming Cowboy Days* for Charles A. Guernsey, according to Mrs. Bechtold. Williams died in New Orleans in 1945.

In verifying the dates of the Studebaker tour we checked the *Cheyenne State Leader* and located a detailed story on the front page of the September 1, 1909, issue. It was based on an interview with Edwin Hall, state geologist and instigator of the trip. We thought the contrast between the fairly prosaic newspaper report and Williams' account complement each other sufficiently to justify publishing them together.—Editor

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## HALL REPORTS GREAT STATE DEVELOPMENT

State Geologist Hall returned last night from a trip of 4,250 miles, made in company with State Immigration Agent C. W. Williams, by automobile, in order that they might become acquainted at first hand with the resources of the state. During the

journey they traversed Laramie, Converse, Natrona, Fremont, Big Horn, Sheridan, Johnson, Crook and Weston counties in Wyoming and made a detour through Montana. Speaking of the trip Mr Hall last night said: "From Lander, up through Big Horn county and clear around to Sundance and Newcastle, oil development is in progress, and everywhere they are making strikes of oil and gas. The Lander field shows good fuel oil, with large deposits of asphaltum, the latter testing 78.5 per cent. pure and comparing well with the high-grade products obtained in the best fields at other localities. There has recently been brought in a well of light oil running high in kerosene and gasoline.

"In Big Horn county the strikes are all of light oil, very high in gasoline and kerosene.

"Near Sundance recently two or three wells have been brought in which give oil with a parafine [*sic*] base.

"Near Newcastle they are putting in drilling rigs and already have several wells showing high-grade lubricating oil.

"There are oil or gas fields near almost every town of Northern Wyoming and in all these fields there is activity."

Turning from oil to mining, State Geologist Hall said that in the vicinity of Lander some good strikes of gold have been made, both at South Pass and on the Wind River Indian reservation. Preparations are being made for dredging operations on the Big Horn river, near Shoshoni. The gravel of the river bed and banks at this point, according to a report by Revett, the Breckenridge, Colorado, placer expert, runs 33 cents in gold to the yard. There is a great deal of activity in the Coper [*sic*] Mountain district, while near Thermopolis the sulphur mines are producing 40,000 pounds of sulphur per week, and ore has recently been struck which is 70 per cent. pure.

"The Gebo coal mines in Big Horn county," said Mr. Hall, "are producing about 500 tons daily. There is probably no better managed property in the state. The coal is of good quality and when the Burlington completes its extension southward the output will be greatly increased.

"Sunlight, a gold, copper and silver camp, 50 miles from Cody, promises to be one of the greatest in the state. There are also great bodies of high-grade sulphur in this district.

"The Big Horn mountains, from the Montana line to Copper Mountain, have just commenced to be prospected and the prospectors are making fine strikes of copper, gold, silver, lead and manganese. Most of the strikes are reported from the vicinity of Sheridan and Buffalo.

"In the Bar [*sic*] Lodge district, eight miles from Sundance, a country peculiar to itself, is being opened. The formation is mostly porphyry, [*sic*] dioritem trachite and different eruptive rocks, carrying values principally in gold, fluorine and some tellurides

showing in the shallow workings. Nearly every prospector in the camp has a good-sized body of marketable ore. Very fine copper and gold properties have been opened up to some extent in this district.

"At Newcastle the coal fields have been many times reported worked out, but will be producing 50 years from now. The coal is so hard that it is necessary to use machines in mining it and to utilize breakers at the surface.

"Over the whole line from Lander on I was greatly surprised by the amount of irrigated land and the excellence of the crops. I believe that the Big Horn basin alone, when all available land is irrigated, will support a population equal to that of the entire state at present.

"When we first went in to Sheridan I could not understand what kept the town up, but after riding for two days in an automobile furnished by enterprising citizens, through agricultural and coal mining tributary country, the support of the thriving city became plain.

"At Sundance they are raising fine crops without irrigation. In many instances they are plowing only once in two or three years, between plowings drilling the seeds in on the old ground.

"At Newcastle Congressmen Mondell and Senator Baird took us out to the government experiment dry farm. There we saw roasting ears, pumpkins 18 inches in diameter, beets, peas, oats, potatoes, rye, barley and other products as fine as I ever saw in Iowa. In my judgment this farm is not located on as good ground as most of our Eastern Wyoming land."

In order to reach Sheridan county from Big Horn county State Geologist Hall and Immigration Agent Williams made a detour through Montana and there they encountered a genuine cyclone of the brand that made Kansas famous. When the wind threatened to overturn their machine they abandoned it and it was blown 400 yards and was only prevented from plunging into the Big Horn river by becoming entangled in a barber [*sic*] wire fence. At Hardin, Mont., a few miles from where the storm caught them, a stone motel, a livery barn and 20 other buildings were wrecked by the terrific wind.

"Wyoming roads are not built for automobiles," said State Geologist Hall, "and we struck some mighty hard sledding. But at that my Studebaker ran without a hitch until Lusk was reached. Then what do you think? While I was riding about town with my wife, and not exceeding a speed of 12 miles an hour, one wheel broke off and the machine was disabled. Think of the roads and no roads we had been over."—*Cheyenne State Leader*, September 1, 1909.

## SEEING WYOMING FROM A STUDEBAKER E.M.F. IN 1909

By

C. W. WILLIAMS

(This bit of prose has been written mostly from memory, so, if the reader runs onto something he does not believe and wants to make an issue of, this is his privilege, providing he can find someone to argue with besides the author. Making the trip, thirty years ago last summer, and not telling about it, should be punishment enough, without having to defend questioned statements, of which there will be divers, no doubt, both memory and human nature being what they are, however, falsehood has been eschewed. If a clause or paragraph, here and there, does not seem to make sense, the captious are asked to keep their shirts on and remember auto travel over Wyoming isn't what it used to be, not by a jugful.)

First of all, attention is called to the title. "Seeing Wyoming" is not inclusive enough. It should have been "Seeing and Feeling Wyoming." But one can't give details in a caption.

To get started without further preface, I quote from the *Wyoming Tribune*, June 10, 1909: "State Geologist Edwin Hall and C. W. Williams, Secretary of the State Board of Immigration, started on a tour of the mining camps of the state in Mr. Hall's car. During this trip of 3,500 miles, mountain ranges will have to be crossed and numerous rivers and mountain streams forded. Altogether it will be an endurance test for the Studebaker."

I can't supply the name of the publicity conscious party who fathered the quotation; nor do I know the source of his information, unless it was my good friend Hall, who was a geologist and not a sales promoter. (There is a difference, you know.)

Above the quoted statement is a picture. Or it may be only a working hypothesis. The Studebaker is discernible, though I never knew it looked like that. I am there. Anyway, I think I am. But if you can find one blur in the whole smear that looks like Edwin Hall you can see further in the dark than I can. However, black-outs are quite common today—in Europe.

In order to prove that we are not crazy, but if so, not alone in our misfortune, I submit the following list of specifications, which appeared in a Studebaker display advertisement in the same newspaper on the same date as the above, the quoted excerpts being reproduced verbatim et literatim et punctuatim:

"Four-cylinder, 4-cycle, 30 horse power motor. Bore 4 inches; stroke 4½ inches; 106-inch wheel. Base-Tires 32 inches by 3½ inches. Complete with magneto. 5 lamps and generator, tools, jack, tire repair outfit and pump."

"The car", continues the ad, "is of conventional construction. There is nothing new or experimental in the design, no startling innovations or 'talking points', but it combines features which have heretofore been found only in the highest price cars, features which insure simplicity, high quality, reliability and mechanical 'excellence'."

Did anybody ever start anywhere with his transportation more completely implemented? (Write your own answer).

Very well, we left Cheyenne about noon o'clock, on the day and year aforementioned, in the rain. Yes, in the rain. It rained once before, if you remember. That is, if you remember reading about it in the Bible. But that was just a flood or deluge.

I say we left Cheyenne, which may or may not be an overstatement. True, we left it, but it took us so long to leave it so near, I doubt if the simple statement, "We left Cheyenne", gives an adequate conception of our performance.

The distance covered before our departure was interrupted, depends upon how far it was, at that time, from Cheyenne, going north, to the first high center—information I either never had or have forgotten.

To keep the thread of the story from breaking, right off the reel, I will say, with only a modicum of reservation, it couldn't have been much farther than I would have thrown the angular lever, which, with my help, did the work later done by the selfstarter, had I followed any one of several definite impulses already experienced and recurring with accumulating frequency during the next three months, as we moved, sometimes with the speed of a glacier, over Wyoming's vast, untraveled areas.

Getting back on the high center and eventually getting off, we continued, doggedly, to keep Cheyenne in the rear and when night overtook us—which was no trick at all—we were uncomfortably settled in a soft spot, eight or ten feet square, on an open prairie that could have been mistaken for the Pacific Ocean. It was still raining hard, if not harder.

The soft spot had at least one of the attributes of an old corral—undoubtedly it had gone through long processes of fertilization and was not duplicated elsewhere in the state. (This we did not know of course, until the trip was over and we had failed to find its counterpart.)

At first we were restive. We disliked the idea of being stuck in the mud—to give whatever it was a respectable name—and consumed much time, energy and gasoline trying to get out. Finally it dawned on us to use our heads, while the radiator was still in sight, something we might have doubted had it not been for frequent and prolonged flashes of lightning. Our chains could as well have been spider threads. I never saw looser muck, perhaps just

the thing for cryptogamous plants, such as the mushroom, but it contributed nothing to traction, as we understood the term.

Besides, it got in our hair, and I don't mean metaphorically. It even got in our ears, our eyes, our mouths. I think we swallowed some of it, but that had no appreciable effect on the supply. In short, it literally covered us and to keep everything more or less ducky, it was, by now, raining pitchforks and past our bed time.

There we were — wet, dirty, tired, chilled — and nothing but pneumonia in sight. To be sure, we were still on earth, although, for the nonce, we were not so certain about the Studebaker; and heaven, or what was left of it, must have been in its usual position. Otherwise, things were abnormal.

Parenthetically, closed cars were not yet born and, like King Lear, we were at the mercy of the elements, except for inadequate curtains, which, on account of their inadequacy, were under the seat.

A move in some direction being imperative and our eagerness to get away from it being temporarily eclipsed, we headed back toward Cheyenne, under our own power—power a sick horse would have been ashamed of—hoping to find shelter at a ranch house we had passed somewhat disdainfully on our way north hours before.

How far we walked, I don't know, and I probably wouldn't believe it, if somebody told me. Whatever it was, it was too far. But we made it. As we approached the premises dogs greeted us noisily. They didn't know us. We wouldn't have known each other but for the darkness. A bass voice called: "Who's there?"

Not an easy question that, with a storm raging, hounds yelping and an unseen stranger, possibly armed with a couple of six guns and petulantly waiting to plug us in case our answer should sound horsethiefish.

But we had anticipated such a predicament and used a technique all our own. It must have been good, for, instantly all bars were down, and we walked into a comfortable country home, as welcome guests, where hot coffee soon revived our flickering spirits and a warm bed later soothed our aching bones.

Morning came and brought with it ham and eggs (ham, thick like the butt end of a shingle; eggs, fresh as this morning's dew) which we consumed with unaffected gusto.

Conversation limped in places, but that was forgiven in the presence of hospitality that knew no restriction.

Our hosts (I remember neither their names nor their number) looked upon us with thinly veiled compassion. Their silence seemed to ask how two male adults, with state jobs (as if that meant anything), could be so void of horse sense as to start any place in a thing like that (we had mentioned the Studebaker somewhat in detail) and hope to arrive, rain or no rain.

When we told them we would continue, providing they would

give us a lift, they hesitated, not, I am sure, on account of the physical inconvenience compliance would entail, but because they were not at all keen about contributing to official delinquency—common enough even in those days to be of general concern.

However, Hall was not a quitter, in any sense, as will be noted later, and at 2 o'clock that afternoon, our horseless headache having been successfully disinterred, with the help of two men and two teams, we were Chugwater bound.

Here let me insert a word about state highways and another as to why this trip was undertaken.

First: Highways, as we know them, were non-existent in those days. Roads? Yes. The state had plenty of roads, such as they were, but most of them for long and frequent stretches, were worse than none. Deep ruts; high centers; rocks, loose and solid; steep grades; washouts or gullies; stumps; sage brush roots; unbridged streams; sand; alkali dust; gumbo; and plain mud, were some of the more common abominations the cross-country traveler had to contend with. Often roads would become faint and disappear, in which case the going might be better, just as bad, or worse, from the standpoint of shocks or jolts; vibrations, being normal to any mode of conveyance, were not yet threatened with elimination. In fact the human body was keyed to a certain amount of agitation and would have been bored by the monotonous smoothness of modern automobile travel. Yet, even though the virgin prairie might be painfully bumpy, nevertheless its advantages were inviting at times. Anyway, the detour had to have a beginning.

Second: Why the trip? Frankly, I am afraid I don't know all the answers, but I will give a few.

We office'd together, Hall and I, in the state capitol. We had comfortable chairs to sit in and nice desks to put our feet on. We were fairly well compensated for our time, enabling us to pay rent, buy groceries and keep up appearances generally.

But that was all. We had no money—no expense money, I mean. If we wrote a letter, dealing with the state's business, we had to buy a postage stamp using our individual funds. If we wrote two such letters, we had to buy two postage stamps. If we wrote a million letters—well, just imagine! We would have been flat broke and WPA twenty-odd years in the future! Who wouldn't have been desperate?

Moreover, we were ambitious. We wanted to make a record. We felt an urge to do something worthwhile for the state, and incidentally, for ourselves. Knowing that Senator Warren would not stay in Washington forever and that Governor Brooks would eventually return to private life, we could think of at least two political jobs we would rather have than geologist and immigration agent—and might snare if we used the right approach.

Then, too, we were natural-born outdoor men. Inaction was

getting us down. We could hear the call of the wild. This was particularly true of Hall, who craved adventure, who was a pioneer at heart, and who never tired of trying to do the all but impossible.

Is it surprising, then, that we found a way to stave off dryrot and free our chafing souls from what Grover Cleveland so mistakenly called "innocuous desuetude?"

Having given the matter much consideration, Hall went to Denver and purchased a new Studebaker E.M.F. 30. (Not the 30 printers use, though I don't know why). He also got a trunk and a camera. The idea was to cover the state, take pictures, gather information as to its resources, return to Cheyenne and write a book.

I didn't know it then, but I soon learned (by soon I mean before we left town) that we should have waited until somebody perfected an automobile lighting system that would work nights and until somebody else (who would probably have a broken arm) invented the selfstarter. But we didn't and as a result I got so I could see in the dark and had biceps like a blacksmith, two valuable assets for a tin-horn politician, at that. If some (not all) of our present day would-be statesmen had the vision of an owl we might be better off.

Now we can go on with our mudslinging; and since I don't want to dwell on all unpleasant details, I will mention only some of the outstanding experiences of the trip and let it go at that, because there may be such a thing as vicarious suffering and if so the reader's feelings should be guarded.

As I remember, we made Chugwater, some time next day, but it was not our fault. We came to a long, slick, narrow, freshly-graded fill, which we crossed, exactly as a snake crawls, in safety, neither the car nor the driver having anything to do with the outcome. Some higher power must have intervened to save the necks of a couple of chumps.

Not caring so much for Chugwater and realizing that we meant as little or less to it, we continued, with Wheatland our next objective. Avoiding the roads as much as practical and going as straight as we could, with neither sun nor compass as guide, we must have reached that burg not later than the fifth day out from Cheyenne, and we didn't go round and slip up on it from the north either.

After Wheatland we did not care much how fast we traveled and, taking Guernsey, Hartville, Sunrise, Lusk, Manville, Lost Springs and Orin in our stride, we rushed on through sagebrush and gumbo, to Douglas, which, I recall, was just three weeks from Cheyenne (and still raining, you understand). To explain briefly why it took so long, I will say we made several side trips and lingered a little bit here and there, but the chief holdbacks up to this point were high centers, mud or gumbo and bridges yet un-built. To say it in one mouthful: we were stuck all the way.

We visited the iron mines at Sunrise and, strange to relate, the Studebaker did not run into the open pit, a nonhappening which I personally appreciated, though Hall esteemed it of no special consequence, taking things as they came and saying nothing.

At a copper property in the vicinity of Lusk, which my traveling companion was managing in addition to his state job, we took what I thought was a grand ride, going to the bottom of a 600-foot shaft and back, without having to push, crank or wish I had never been born.

We lowgeared in and around Douglas for several days, during which time we crossed our first railroad bridge, not knowing when a train would come and, speaking for myself only, not caring very much. The vague thought had occurred to me several times and I had once passed it on to the geologist for what it might be worth, namely: that this was not forced on us; that we could go back, at least by train; that life had been more pleasant; that a bath is something, and that a clean shirt is not without circumstance.

In reply he said nothing, but he would have given me the same look if I had offered to cut his throat; and I knew then that whatever happened we would do some funny stunts, crossing railroad bridges being one of them and actually developing into a habit.

Many times between Lusk and Douglas, between Douglas and Casper, between Casper and Lander, Hall made this remark: "Williams, there is oil here." As if I care, when all I could think about was where trouble would hit us next and why? For instance, we went from Shoshoni to Thermopolis twice, when once came very near being too many, the Devil's Slide giving the Studebaker more than it could do without me at the back and pushing my daylights out. We went to Riverton and Fort Washakie, where we created more excitement than an old time trappers' rendezvous and for a time completely upset the poise of the reservation. From the way the Indians looked, our outfit surprised them more than Brutus surprised Caesar.

At Thermopolis we went swimming in hot water, which turned out okay, though Hall couldn't swim, he could take a bath and did.

At Lander we worked over the old bus for 48 hours, day and night, to keep the spark of life from total extinction. Her gasoline engine had quit pounding, except spasmodically, and her timing apparatus came within an ace of being a closed mystery to everybody in central Wyoming, save and except one man who said he knew nothing about such mechanisms, then promptly saved more days and nights by guessing the answer. I didn't but I could have kissed him.

We took pictures and gathered data everywhere we went and, on the surface, were always among friends. At Basin they made our coming an occasion for something fit to eat, then spoiled the whole evening by asking us to make speeches. Hall couldn't talk

any better than he could swim, and as for me, if I couldn't swim better than I could talk, then assuredly I wouldn't have been there that night. However, it was up to me to say something, which I tried to do by railing at speechmakers and those who listened to them for having nothing better to do. They didn't run me out of town, but I couldn't have felt much worse if they had.

There was no mud at Meeteetse. At least I don't think there was, and people who know that country will understand why. I may be wrong, but it is my opinion that, generally speaking, there is no mud at Meeteetse for the same reason there is no mud on the Tetons.

By the way, we carried our reserve gasoline supply in five gallon cans and many times it seemed expedient to purchase a whole flock, especially if the price was no more than two-fifty per can, or four bits the gallon; and honestly, I don't remember of being out of gas once. Do you suppose the same trip could be made today, without being delayed by such an occurrence? I doubt it.

Being unusually tired and hungry, we were more than glad to reach Cody, where we found a new, up-to-date hotel; but good as the food looked, I couldn't eat it on account of a pair of the sorest lips one man ever had, made so by wind, sun and alkali, which I had learned since the long wet spell, were not good for the muscular organs that bound the mouth. We entered Cody early in the evening from an elevation and had almost despaired of finding the place, when, suddenly, there it was, downstairs, so to speak, all lit up like a Christmas tree. It was beautiful, I tell you. In fact, it was one of the truly buoyant sights of the trip. And, yet, I had to go to bed hungry! It didn't seem right, then or now, and if I live another thirty years, I will continue to feel no different.

West of Cody, going to Yellowstone Park, we found the best road in the state. It was intentional and not an accident. It followed the Shoshone Canyon and we followed it to the Park entrance, looking up on one side and down on the other. However, it was not as wide as it might have been or no doubt is today; nor was it hard surfaced; yet it gave us something to talk about in an un-profane way.

We undertook to go east from Cody to Sheridan but found, after a week or ten days, that it wasn't being done, except by mountain sheep and their kind.

Once we shipped the Studebaker 30 miles on a flat car—gave it a ride for a change—but where we were at the time I can't recall. The loading was interesting.

Hall got a couple of long, heavy planks, such as railroads used at crossings, leaned them against the flat car, at its more exposed end, jockeyed the E.M.F. into position, took a running shot and, presto, they were loaded and ready to go, by their own power and his nerve. The unloading was done the same way, except the

grade was reversed, and with the same facility. I said before and I say again, Hall was not a quitter.

Having been told we couldn't go over the Big Horns in "that thing" and having tried it, we finally decided to make the long detour into Montana, through Pryor Gap, and back into Wyoming along the east side of the mountains, roughly some 200 or more miles.

We had reached the Gap, without untoward incident, except too much dust in too many places, and had started through, when we took the wrong road, which led us up into the mountains rather than over them. We were on a log road, which looked like the main traveled road, which in turn was the road we had been told to take. Therefore, we were in the clear. Or were we?

It was early in the day when the real climbing began and late at night when we reached the apex of the dump, if I may call it that, and learned of our mistake and why. But for Hall's confidence in me as I walked in front (we had no lights) shouting information about the road and how best to negotiate it—first "Right" and then "Left"—and the mechanical potency of low gear, do you know we might have been there or thereabouts yet, because my chauffeur was disgusted with himself for letting this same range stand in his way nearer home?

As we approached the summit we heard (of all things) geese. Apparently they were trying to make more noise than the Studebaker, but I couldn't give them credit for coming close.

Sensing a house and human beings somewhere near, I yelled: "Where are we?" A loud voice came back, clear as a bell, saying: "You are up on top of the mountains!" "How about lodging and something to eat?" I asked. "Such as they are, we have plenty, and you are welcome," was the altruistic reply.

After certain festivities we retired to a mattress in one corner of a big room, which was full of kids and other mattresses, while, we, personally, were as full of beans, sowbelly, cornbread and buttermilk, as the room was full of mattresses, kids and us.

We awoke next morning in a Montana mountain home full of youthful laughter and excitement. Our corner of the room was in a state of siege before we could get our pants on. Youngsters of all ages machine gunned us with questions the Encyclopedia Britannica couldn't have answered. In their eyes, we were rare specimens—fugitives, perhaps, from the Smithsonian Institution.

They were too full of curiosity to eat breakfast, which didn't save any grub because what they didn't eat we did, having learned by experience that one can profitably anticipate a few meals ahead. After thus gorging ourselves, the assemblage adjourned to the open air. Never was air more open. It was open in every direction except down. We have to have something to stand on. And the Studebaker, it had to be demonstrated. That is to say, it would

not do to leave that family, high and dry, without taking it for a ride.

Hall gave the order to pile in. I turned the crank. And the fun began. They went round and round like something at the fair grounds. The E.M.F. looked like the alphabet. I never saw the geologist happier, even when he was pecking on the side of a mountain with a hand-pick. And he kept it up so long I thought we were thinking of the same thing—another feed. But it developed that the mother had work to do and the ride was over.

Soon we were off—literally off. To the music of a thousand childish "Goodbys!" we sank into another world, different men, at least for the moment. I wonder where and how those kids are now. I wonder.

The force of gravity was not long getting us back on the right road and shortly we were actually east of the mountains, headed south.

It was a hot day, I suspect, in early August, and through some cause, we were making good time. We had reached what looked to me to be just about the middle of nowhere, with nothing to contemplate but the horizon and, through a haze, the Big Horn mountains. Then came, not the deluge, but something else. We were out of water and the engine was hot! Right away, too, we were thirsty.

There was no use talking. I dug out the old collapsible canvas bucket and started, believing that one direction was as good as another. I must have walked over the horizon, for I couldn't see the car, when I came to a place where cattle had congregated not long before. I had been kicked by cows enough when a kid to know their tracks; and in their tracks was water. I will call it that anyway. It took me some time to fill the bucket, dipping with cupped hands. When two he-men, or at least one and a half, and an automobile engine have to have water, they have to have it.

As the day waned the heat became more intense and a strong wind from the northeast steadily grew stronger. Much of the time we were in our own dust. A cloud appeared in the sky behind us. It was black and ominous. We did not know what was coming, but we had misgivings, and were trying to reach Hardin before it hit us.

This we were unable to do and, in the light of subsequent events, our failure saved our hides, because the livery stable (no garage) where we would have sought shelter, was wrecked, with a casualty list, including nine head of horses; while we were in the open, three miles north of town, taking all the elements had to give in our shirt sleeves—silk shirt sleeves at that—and lived to tell the tale thirty years later.

We were in a fence lane when overtaken by a triple threat hail storm, tornado and waterspout. Hall undertook to stop, but the

wind was in authority and carried us to a low place in the road.

I was on the receiving side, that is, the storm was coming my way, and naturally I turned my back to it. Anybody would. Instantly I realized, as never before, the weakness of human flesh—mine especially. Or it might have been, to some extent, the size of the hail and the force with which the pellets hit. My feelings were hurt. Outside of that, I had trouble breathing, and when a fellow can't breathe there is something wrong, temporarily. I was thinking of all the mean things I had done when I commenced to feel funny around the ankles. Looking down I saw my feet were in water. I nudged Hall, who, so far as I knew, might be either asleep or dead, and suggested that we take a walk.

We stepped out into a torrent that was hard to stem and, on reaching higher ground, saw what we took to be a shack and a barn still standing. Why not call on the homesteaders and see how they are getting along? By all means. We were so anxious to meet them we forgot to knock and they were so surprised to see us they couldn't speak, until we assured them of our neutrality.

They were a sister and two brothers. The sister was punching holes in the building paper ceiling with a broom handle, allowing imprisoned water to fall to the floor in riotous splashes. (Only a few hours before I had been tickled to find less watery water in cow tracks).

After getting acquainted, they were glad we came. After eating, the feeling was mutual. Their shack had had a porch and there had been some other outbuildings, besides the barn, until a few minutes before. They had had a garden, too, they said, as well as plants, both ornamental and useful, but they were not expecting to see them around in the morning. Still they were not crying. They were as game as three thoroughbreds could have been. What they had done they could do again.

Having no room for us in the house, they sent us to the barn, with a loft full of hay, which I thought was better, and we dug in for the night. My back being as it was, I found a semi-sitting position just the thing and got along nicely till morning.

On awaking our first thought was about the Studebaker, and we lost no time seeing about it. But where was it? It was not where we had left it the night before. Turbulent waters had taken it through the wire fence and a considerable distance over a grassy flat toward the Big Horn River. They would have taken it further (if not all the way) had it not been for its entanglement in a single strand of barbed wire, the wire, we found on inspection, being mysteriously wrapped around the axle just inside the left front wheel. I don't know whether Hall carried a rabbit's foot or not.

The car itself was a mess, covered with mud and all sorts of debris, thrown over it by wind and flood, several feet thick in

places; and our treasure trunk with its bulging contents, photographic, printed and written (to my mind invaluable), which we had accumulated with such effort!

Was this to be the end?

I retrieved the crank, the geologist looking on pensively, and with my good right arm gave one determined yank, bringing the supposedly dead and buried remains to life and a look to Hall's face that matched perfectly the purr of the engine.

With the help of our two brand new young friends we had the Studebaker back in the lane when the sister called us to breakfast. She had pancakes and coffee, but she didn't have them long. (During all these years I have felt somewhat abashed at the quantity I stowed away that morning. I did not know whether the young lady thought I was complimenting her cooking or stealing her life's sustenance and did not linger to learn).

It took us practically all day to reach Hardin, notwithstanding the fact that neither of us ever worked harder in his life. Hardin was partially off its foundation. Some of the houses were in some of the streets and some of the streets were, more or less, in some of the houses, giving travelers unusual intimacy, or something. The livery stable we did not reach was flat like the pancakes we had had for breakfast. The hotel, however, was right side up and open for business.

Our next impulse was to look in the trunk. It was heartrending. Everything was ruined—everything. For me, the jig was up. I felt like Hoover looked when he left the White House in '33.

That evening, as we were getting ready for bed, Hall calmly remarked: "No wonder your back is sore. It would make a good symbol for a raw meat emporium." Then in a refractory accent, he said: "Good night!"

To go directly south from Hardin we had to cross the Big Horn River and the only bridge was that of the Burlington Railroad—our one hope. We made friendly calls on the local station agent and after several sessions he flatly refused to sanction our project, but told us when would be the best time, which, as I recall, was a three hour, no train period in the early afternoon. The fill leading to the bridge was long, making it necessary for us to ride the ties nearly a mile before reaching the span.

Getting stuck in the mud while still in town; cutting the right of way fence and repairing it; coaxing the old bus up to and on the track, took time. It took time, too, to cover the distance and cross the river. But it took nothing flat to run the Studebaker off the track and into the ditch on the other side, for a passenger train was coming, headon. That was our last stunt of the kind, and I mean last as definitely as Custer's stand, in this same neck of the woods, was his last.

Surprising as it seems, we were soon out of the ditch and on

our way, rejoicing—rejoicing that we were not at the bottom of the river with a lot of other people whose lives we had no business jeopardizing.

A different occasion awaited us on the Crow Indian Reservation, where we stayed over night and had supper and breakfast with a buck and his squaw. He was a dumbbell, so far as we could see, but he suited her and that was greatly in his favor. On the other hand, she was not only educated and mentally alert, with a good flow of English, but good looking and easy to listen to.

When supper was ready they called us and left the cabin—a new log structure built by the buck himself and not a bad job. We finished eating and had been out under a tree in the yard for twenty minutes or more when they returned. Going away and leaving us at the table was their method of saying: "You are welcome."

We were up late that night listening to our hosts. She would talk and he would grunt. Especially was she delightful when we tried, in our awkward way, to show some knowledge and appreciation of her handiwork, fancy pieces, many of them really gorgeous, of this and that, whatever they were, only Indian squaws, and not many of them, had the skill and patience to perfect. Hall said he thought they were dandy and I agreed. Finally, they sent us to bed—their bed. We protested at first, but after a few loud remarks on his part, which we did not understand, we concluded that he was running the place and took to cover.

Next morning we paid the bill with folding money, which they refused but which we left on the grass at their feet, and hurried away.

We made Sheridan, Buffalo and points nearby in rapid succession. From Gillette we went to Sundance, taking a long squint at the Devils Tower en route. Then we nosed towards Newcastle, where we had the honor of spending a night in the home of the late Frank W. Mondell. It was some shack and is still standing, I understand. Between Newcastle and Lusk we ran out of water again. This time I found it, not in cow tracks, but in large eroded cups on the hilltops, left there, I presume, by a contemporary shower.

Hall, who afterwards made money in oil, was a grand companion; liberal to a fault, he always paid more than expected, rather than less, for what he got. I saw him dressed and ready to step out. I saw him in mud up to his neck. When the going was toughest he was at his best.

I have treated the Studebaker something like a joke, but I want to say it had to have plenty to take what we gave it and come back alive.

As for me, my resignation followed our return almost immediately and this is the first time the truth has been told.

Phrases—Staying all night at a hog ranch in the northern part of the state and wondering if pigs squeal because they don't sleep or don't sleep because they squeal . . . Finding three dozen elks' teeth in a rockpile on the bank of a small mountain stream above Lander . . . Seeing plenty of game and having a gun, but not using it . . . Taking another state official for a ride and never getting him back . . . Answering this question: "What kind of car is it?" . . . Catching a nice mess of trout in a stream I could step over near Casper . . . Going into the ditch, walking miles in the dark, stumbling onto a railroad track, waiting for a train, flagging a switch engine with a match, receiving the engineer's blessing and riding to town in his cab . . . Going after the Studebaker next day with subsidized horsepower . . . Running into a mosquito swamp and running out again . . . Getting stuck in a stream, deeper than it looked, near a town whose people viewed our distress with open satisfaction . . . Being outrun by a jackrabbit on a good stretch of road . . . Surprising an old buck Indian taking a bath in an irrigation ditch . . . Being pulled out of deep sand by a cowboy on a sorrel horse, with a lariat extended from the front axle of the car to the horn of his saddle, after breaking the rope three times . . . Having supper in a sheep wagon with a herder who knew how to fry potatoes . . . Observing the curiosity of a deer . . . Seeing a snake digging a hole . . . Trying to file on oil claims and finding them taken . . . Being bawled out by an old man with a frightened team . . . Watching Hall drink lemonade with lots of ice . . . Driving in the dark and hoping for the best . . . Seeing chickens ske-daddle . . . Making stock stampede . . . Startling the natives and living till now.

In fairness to all, it should be stated that this little jaunt did not cost the state one thin dime.—C. W. Williams

# *Wyoming State Historical Society*

## TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING

Torrington, Wyoming

September 8 - 10, 1978

Pre-meeting registration was held Friday evening during the hospitality hour hosted by the Goshen County Chapter at the Wyoming Room of the Citizens National Bank from 7 to 9 p.m. A film, "Have A Nice Day," was shown and refreshments were served.

### SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

The twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Wyoming State Historical Society, held at Eastern Wyoming College, was opened by Don Hodgson, president of the Goshen County Chapter. He then turned the meeting over to David J. Wasden, Society president.

Mr. Wasden commented on the principal business he proposed to bring before the meeting: changing the Constitution and By-Laws, revising the Awards Program and discontinuing the Wyoming Historical Foundation.

The minutes of the 1977 Annual Meeting were read and approved. The treasurer read the following report:

#### TREASURER'S REPORT

BALANCE ON HAND SEPTEMBER, 1978	\$ 1,789.39
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##### EXPENSES:

Annual Meeting	\$ 345.00
Jr. Awards	110.00
President's Expense	185.74
Off. Expense	41.16
Postage	22.01
	<hr/>
	703.91
	<hr/>
	\$ 1,085.48

##### INCOME:

Movie	200.00
Dues	120.00
	<hr/>
	320.00

Balance on Hand October 21, 1978	\$ 1,405.48
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##### SAVINGS:

#1	\$10,524.24
#2	1,000.00
#3	215.94
#4	3,317.26
#5	4,436.04
#6	4,436.04

TOTAL	\$23,929.52
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\$25,335.00

## FINANCIAL REPORT 1977 - 1978

September 1, 1977 Balance:		\$ 1,669.06
<b>INCOME:</b>		
Refund 1977 Trek	\$ 71.00	
Movie	800.00	
Dues	7,514.00	
Sales and Misc.	65.16	
Gifts	15.00	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
		8,465.16
		<hr/>
		\$10,134.22
<b>EXPENSE:</b>		
Annual Meeting	301.80	
Grant-in-Aid	200.00	
Jr. Awards	125.00	
County Awards	248.60	
President's Expense	731.20	
Officers Expense	152.00	
Postage	70.50	
Supplies	90.77	
Annals	251.66	
Misc.	5,768.40	
Trek	361.90	
Membership refunds	43.00	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
		8,344.83
		<hr/>
		\$ 1,789.39
<b>SAVINGS ACCOUNTS:</b>		
Federal Bldg. & Loan Savings Bk. (#1)	\$ 10,524.24	
Federal Bldg. & Loan (Bishop Mem.) (#2)	1,000.00	
Federal Bldg. & Loan (Living Hist.) (#3)	215.94	
Federal Bldg. & Loan CD (#4)	3,253.61	
Capitol Savings & Loan CD (#5)	4,411.82	
Capitol Savings & Loan (#6)	4,411.82	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
		23,817.43
		<hr/>
		\$25,606.82

## COMMITTEE REPORTS

*Scholarship.* The Scholarship program of the Society's Awards program provides \$500 to be awarded for writing a county history, \$200 to be paid when the application is approved and \$300 to be paid upon completion and acceptance of the history. T. A. Larson, committee chairman, reported that five scholarships are currently outstanding: Guy Peterson, Converse County; Dorothy Milek, Hot Springs County; Robert A. Murray, Johnson County; V. J. Bales, Niobrara County; and Kerry Ross Boren, Sweetwater County. Since the beginning of the Scholarship program histories have been completed for Laramie, Carbon, Teton and Washakie Counties.

*Grant-in-Aid.* Dr. Larson stated that this program provides financial assistance of \$300 for a paper on some phase of Wyoming history. Geoffrey R. Hunt has completed a study on "Small Museums and the Interpretation of Wyoming History," and it has

been accepted by the committee. Only one Grant-in-Aid is outstanding.

*Historical-Archaeological Project.* Henry Jensen reported that the committee had been working to place two sites on the National Register of Historic Places. One was the site of the sheep pens at Moneta which were fashioned after the Australian style. The pens were owned by an out-of-state corporation which did not respond to Mr. Jensen's letter of inquiry, and the pens were torn down. The J. B. Oakie pens at Lost Cabin were built at the same time and have equal historical significance. The Spratt Company, owners of the property, has agreed to preserve the pens, and the nomination for Historical Register status is under consideration at the federal level.

The Committee has also undertaken initial work to place on the National Register the Stone Ranch on the old Casper, Lander and Thermopolis stage route. The Ranch is the only remaining stage station on this route. It is privately owned.

*Legislative Committee.* This committee, which consists of T. A. Larson, Adrian Reynolds and Edness Kimball Wilkins, has been primarily concerned with getting ownership of Independence Rock entirely with the State of Wyoming. Dr. Larson reported on the series of problems in bringing this about and making it possible to plan and operate a state park at the site of Independence Rock.

Katherine Halverson, acting executive secretary of the Society, reported that the pressure of the office is less since July 1 when a second clerk was hired in the Historical Division, making it possible for Betty Jo Parris to spend most of her time on clerical work for the Society. The second clerk position was approved by the 1978 Legislature.

Mabel Brown, first vice president and project chairman, reported that little has been accomplished on the Legend Rock petroglyph project. The land must first be acquired from the present owner before plans to develop the site can be made.

A marker will be placed at the site of the ghost town, Slack, Mrs. Brown reported. Plans for the grave marker project must be finalized at the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

Henry Chadey reported on the successful trek to Flaming Gorge and Brown's Park on July 15. He attributed much of the success to the fact that one person was in charge of all communications relating to the trek, which was jointly planned by the Sweetwater County Historical Museum and the Sweetwater County Chapter of the Society. Mr. Wasden suggested that future trek committees follow Sweetwater County's example.

The president announced that because James June, 2nd vice president and chairman of the Awards committee, was unable to attend this meeting, the awards will be presented at the banquet by Jack Mueller, a member of the awards committee.

*President's Report.* Mr. Wasden expressed his appreciation for the invitations to so many chapters, and said he was sorry he could not visit more. He said that a review of the Society's accomplishments for the year indicate that it is not a do-nothing organization. The Society membership needs awakening he said, and we need younger members. He said we should offer programs to interest young people in joining. He also suggested that we need more money than is received just from dues. He said we should go after legislative appropriations and every member should approach the legislators in his own area to show the accomplishments of the Society and request consideration for state money. We should not be a social organization, he said, but should have a goal. He also suggested that the Society have young and vigorous officers.

News items should be sent to "Wyoming History News" to show that the chapters are alive and breathing, he said. Mr. Wasden said the constitution and by-laws need changing. He has made a study of what each officer's duties should be, and suggested that each committee should have three members with only one being replaced each year to provide continuity in the committees.

Jay Brazelton, chairman of a committee to study and report on the possibility of two-year-terms for state Society officers, was not present to report for this committee.

Mrs. Halverson reported that \$1500 loaned to the Historical Research and Publications Division to publish the book, *Saleratus and Sagebrush. The Oregon Trail Through Wyoming*, published in 1974, has been repaid in full. An additional \$163.06 of sales receipts has also been paid to the Society. All copies of the book have been sold.

Mr. Wasden introduced Mrs. Jan Wilson, director of the Wyoming Recreation Commission, whom he had invited to this meeting to report on the duties and powers of the Recreation Commission in regard to historic sites, and their cooperation with the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department. Mark Junge reported on the related programs of the two agencies in regard to state historic sites, survey and inventory of sites, monuments and markers, National Register nominations, and environmental impact statements.

Ruth Blackburn of Cody reported on the work of a committee which has completed a marker at the site of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center. The committee is still gathering information on the names of the Japanese who were interned there during World War II.

Mr. Wasden asked the meeting to vote to accept the new constitution and by-laws as he had rewritten them. He said that the change can be made by a vote at the annual meeting without previous notice since the proposed changes were mailed to chapter

presidents in May. After discussion Henry Jensen moved that the revision proposal be tabled. The motion was seconded and carried.

The meeting was adjourned for lunch, which was served in the College cafeteria. Entertainment was provided by folk singers Don and Vivien Hills, of Torrington, and Bill Bragg spoke on "Wyoming Wit—Wyoming Humor."

The meeting was reconvened immediately after lunch. Dick Dumbrill, past president, moved that the incoming president be authorized to appoint a Constitution and By-laws review committee to consist of the Executive Committee and such other members of the Society as the president feels are necessary and proper to study the present Constitution and By-laws, and the proposed Constitution and By-laws to discuss the need for revisions of the present documents and to make recommendation to the Society before the next annual meeting. The motion was seconded and carried.

The meeting was adjourned and reconvened as the Wyoming Historical Foundation. Chairman Ed Bille, Casper, who has served as chairman since 1967, does not wish to continue as chairman. He feels that new officers of the Foundation will generate new interest. He said there is still money available from foundations and from individuals for making additional historic movies, which is one of the goals of the Society. He feels there should be more communication and more cooperation between the Society and the Foundation.

Mr. Wasden again stated his opinion that the Foundation should be deactivated. He added that he had been in correspondence with the State Historical Society of Colorado on the subject and they do not have a Foundation such as ours.

In the following discussion, the general feeling was that the Foundation should be continued but that the system for electing officers would be changed to allow for staggered terms. The services of the Executive Headquarters were offered to assist in carrying on the business of the Foundation. Mr. Jensen moved that the Foundation continue to operate, with officers serving three-year terms. Seconded and carried.

Mr. Jensen moved that a Foundation committee of six members from the Society be named. Seconded and carried. The committee named was Ed Bille, David Wolff, Henry Jensen, Jack Mueller, Ray Pendergraft and George Shelton.

Frank Bowron, Casper, moved that Foundation money not be used for travel or office expenses of the Foundation. Seconded and carried.

The Wyoming Historical Foundation meeting adjourned, and the Wyoming State Historical Society was again called to order.

Mr. Bowron moved that a budget for expenses of the board of

the Wyoming Historical Foundation be established by the Society. Seconded and carried.

The Awards Program of the Society was discussed, and the group agreed that changes are needed, namely to extend the time that nominations may be made each year prior to the annual meeting, and that awards not be made on a first, second and third place basis. It was suggested that it should be possible to approve an award up to the night before the annual meeting. It was also suggested that the Awards program should have more statewide publicity throughout the year.

Mr. Jensen moved that the incoming president appoint a committee to revise the awards program. Seconded and carried. Mr. Jensen and Mr. Pendergraft volunteered to assist with the revisions.

Mr. Bowron suggested that Society members give thought to suggesting people to serve on the Wyoming State Library, Archives and Historical Board, and send their suggestions to Governor Herschler for his consideration in appointing board members.

After discussion of a proposal by the federal government that Fort Laramie and related historic sites be included in a "Trails West" national monument, it was decided that Wyoming had nothing to gain by such a procedure. The Society approved a resolution to formally oppose the inclusion of Fort Laramie in the monument. Copies of the resolution are to be sent to Governor Herschler and to the present Wyoming Congressional delegation as well as to Wyoming members of Congress after January 1.

No invitation for the 1979 annual meeting was received and Ray Pendergraft moved that the new president be responsible for locating a place for the meeting. Seconded and carried.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:30.

## SATURDAY BANQUET

A no-host hospitality hour preceded the banquet at the Valli-Hi Supper Club. Organ music was provided by Fern Wilburn throughout the evening.

Mr. Mueller presented the following awards:

Publications, books: 1st place, Dr. T. A. Larson, *Wyoming. A History*; 2nd place, Dr. Richard R. Dunham, *Flaming Gorge Country*; 3rd place, Dana P. Vanburgh, Jr., *Sketches of Wyoming*; honorable mention, Virginia Cole Trenholm, *West of Plymouth*.

Publications, newspaper division: Ray Pendergraft, article, "Worland. The Town that Skates on Ice."

Activities award: Otto Nelson, Noble Gregory and Jim Budde, Teton County Chapter, for locating unmarked pioneer graves.

Photography: Teton County Chapter.

Cumulative contribution: 1st place, Eunice Hutton, Green

River; 2nd place, Jay Brazelton, Jackson; 3rd place, Mary Capps, Newcastle.

Fine Arts, music: Margaret Schumacher, Cheyenne, for the opera, "Tea and Lilaes for the Duke."

Fine Arts, painting and drawing: 1st place, Elva Ecton, Worland, "The Old Ferry"; 2nd place, Richard Scott, Worland; 3rd place, James Davis, Worland; honorable mention, Halvor (Bill) Johnson, Gillette.

Alberta Frost, widow of Ned Frost, was presented a plaque honoring her late husband's work in the area of historic preservation while he served with the Wyoming Recreation Commission. Mrs. Wilson made the presentation.

The nominating committee reported the following new officers had been elected: Mabel Brown, president; Jim June, first vice-president; Bill Bragg, second vice-president; Ellen Mueller, secretary-treasurer.

Banquet speaker was Dr. Larson, who spoke on the connection between General John J. Pershing and the Warren family of Wyoming.

#### SUNDAY MORNING

After breakfast at the Senior Fellowship Center the Society members toured Fort Laramie and other historic sites in the Torrington area.

Throughout the meeting frequent drawings for prizes were held. The prizes were donated by the chapters, and represented products unique to each county.

## *Book Reviews*

*Prehistoric Hunters of the High Plains.* By George C. Frison.  
(New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1978). 457 pp. Index.  
Illus. Maps. \$29.50.

Frison's book is definitive on prehistoric hunting in the American Northwestern plains. It summarizes nearly everything of significance learned about the subject by archaeologists excavating the area's known sites, and it reflects a time span from the mammoth hunters to the proto-historic era. The book contains more than some readers will want to know and more than others will be capable of absorbing. As many will find it useful as a reference of specific sites as will read it straight through.

Frison has years of experience in the field and so speaks from firsthand acquaintance. Works in this field tend to be either very specific or grandly hypothetical. This is mostly the former, with the exception of a first chapter narrative on the plains as an ecological environment, and several short reconstructions of the probable dynamics of the hunt of several species of game. The narrative reconstructions, however, do not sacrifice scholarly rigor for color, but stick closely to what can be learned from projectile points, the arrangement of bones at kill sites, topography, geology, weather, and other factors treated by the book in detail.

A good example of the author's reluctance to enter the domain of the popularizers are sections on stone circles and buffalo jumps. He dismisses much speculation on stone circles by indicating that they were most probably tepee foundations, and that not enough artifacts have been found with them to establish their cultural significance, if any. Buffalo jumps are exciting to think about, but were difficult for the hunters to operate with any but large herds. More common was driving into arroyos and corrals or allowing the beasts to get stuck in gumbo. How the latter was done exactly Frison does not profess to know. As he wryly puts it in his chapter on hunting mammoth: "Obviously the chance of observing an elephant in a gumbo condition in this area is remote. Unless better evidence is forthcoming, most of the actual details of mammoth procurement in the New World will remain in the realm of conjecture." Bison hunting can be better described because there are more sites and because the habits of the animal can be observed at present. "The kinds of bison-driving activities just described," Frison writes, "are not things that can be learned by reading books."

The book is about evenly divided between what might be called the statics and dynamics of hunting—that is the morphology and

taxonomy of tools and points, complete with drawings and photos of them *in situ*, combined with other sections on the way these were used in a hunt. The latter portions, present most consistently in chapters five through nine dealing with hunting, butchering and processing, will be most compelling to non-archaeologists. Chapter two, a complex "in house" discussion of the problem of chronology will doubtless be least attractive to readers without background in the literature of plains archaeology. Somewhere between in general interest is the part locating and describing the excavations of the region, though this section with its complete set of maps, is a marvelous reference tool. The illustrations are complete and first rate, adequate to allow careful comparison of certain little known types of projectile points with the more familiar Clovis or Folsom points. Someone at the press should have decided upon a single spelling of the word "archaeology," which is in two different forms within the preface alone and throughout the book.

Though this book does not contain something for everyone, it contains a great deal for those whose interest in the prehistoric High Plains is serious.

*Wichita State University*

H. CRAIG MINER

*Montana Images of the Past.* By William E. Farr and K. Ross Toole. (Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Publishing Company, 1978.) 279 pp. Index. Illus. \$35.00.

The two professors of history at the University of Montana have produced a collection of photographs which, as they say they intended, not only illustrate Montana's history, but document it. Long before the days of *Life Magazine*, it was recognized that the American scene—the daily doings and thinking of Americans—could best be described through pictures. But as these authors point out, usually pictures were used to illustrate the text. In this delightful compilation the narrative serves to give background and chronology to the photographs.

It is appropriate that among the first photographs in the book are those by that master W. H. Jackson, from the 1870s and '80s. He did more than show the magnificence of the mountains; he portrayed the *people*, their work, their lives, their spirit. What Professors Farr and Toole have given us is a lesson in photo interpretation (that phrase so familiar in World War II!) They challenge the reader to seek all sorts of historical clues: architecture, clothes, tools, weather etc.

The authors' apologies for, or explanation of, the quality of the photographic reproductions seem unnecessary: to an amateur artist

and photographer like myself the pictures are excellent, in composition, contrast, movement and atmosphere.

The images of Montana's mines and miners, lumbering and lumberjacks, cowboys and sheepmen, Indians, homesteaders and homemakers, people having fun and people with ears, remind one that—like the other Rocky Mountain states, its history is of a relatively short past. The explorers, mountain men and prospectors provided all too few written accounts; in spite of the Catlin, Bodmer and other drawings, we cannot go back more than two hundred years. What a pity Lewis and Clark didn't have cameras!

Montana's development had unique aspects, but most of the pictures are universal in their portrayal of the early days of the West: man's ability to bear unbearable living conditions and to overcome insuperable natural obstacles; his inventiveness in devising tools where there were no tools, and his wife's determined success in bringing and keeping "culture" under conditions of bare survival.

The "melting pot"—a phrase so little used nowadays—did apply to the builders of Montana. Welsh miners, Scandinavian lumberjacks, black cowboys, Irish, Chinese, Slavs—all seemed to blend into the American-Montana scene. There was no mention of Basque shepherds—did they remain in Nevada? The authors' emphasis on the Indians' maintaining "discrete" and surviving in spite of acculturation efforts, would be stronger, had there been fewer photographs of Indians in Reservation schools, dressed like the whites, and doing "government work"—and more scenes typical of their own culture.

To a conservationist the photographs of hydraulic hoses washing out ore beds and of denuded forest lands, are shocking, but to those early settlers the resources of the new land must have seemed limitless. More shocking are the efforts today to strip the land and the earth under it of anything that will bring the quick buck today—who cares about tomorrow?

The Images of Montana's Past, both photographs and text, are not only entertaining and interesting, but thought provoking. They will help the historians. They should be seen and read in Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, Colorado, anywhere and by anyone who loves to seek clues to the past, reminisce about grandmother's wedding dress, or strive for the preservation of that pioneer spirit of grit, adventure, and survival.

*Archivist, Teton County  
Chapter, Wyoming State  
Historical Society*

ELIZABETH R. BROWNELL

*History of Wyoming.* By T. A. Larson. Second edition, revised. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978). 663 pp. Index. Illus. \$18.95.

All students of Wyoming history will welcome the revised edition of Al Larson's *History of Wyoming*. Initially published in 1965, the book remains the most comprehensive study we have of this state and its people.

This is not a complete revision of the original volume. Larson has left the first sixteen chapters almost entirely intact. However, the final two chapters of the first edition have been greatly revised and updated. They emerge in the present edition as three chapters on Wyoming economy, politics and government, and society and culture since World War II. In his bibliography, Larson also has added a four-page addendum of "the more or less noteworthy publications" on Wyoming history which have appeared since 1965.

As the first edition's contents are well known, this review will examine the final chapters in the revision. This section of slightly more than one hundred pages reveals the continuities and changes of the recent Wyoming experience. Larson's additional years in Laramie as a history professor and his tenure in Cheyenne as a legislative representative are mirrored here.

"The Postwar Economy" stresses the transition from the anxious years of the mid-1960s, when Stan Hathaway and other emissaries feted distant investors with wild game dinners, trying to cajole them into sinking dollars in Wyoming. By chapter's end, Larson is reviewing the attempts to restrain runaway growth in the late 1970s. Mineral exploitation, of course, is the main focus, but agriculture and livestock, reclamation and water development, and tourism and recreation also receive significant attention.

"Postwar Politics and Government" features portrayals of recent political leaders, from O'Mahoney to Wallop. Democratic readers may be more pleased with this chapter than Republican readers. Gale McGee, for example, is praised highly while Malcolm Wallop's credentials as an environmentalist are questioned. Some will grit their teeth at Larson's perspective or at the men and issues which have dominated state politics. But few will doubt that this is one of the most provocative and interesting sections of the entire book.

"Postwar Society and Culture" emphasizes elements that Larson has had close contact with: the university, arts and humanities, and the bicentennial celebration. At the university, Larson recalls the textbook review of the 1940s and the Black 14 incident of the late 1960s; he covers such evolving issues as Casper College and the college of human medicine. Athletics and the university's conservative tradition are his main concerns. He concludes with a

brief overview of the quality of Wyoming life and the hope that a balance may be struck between growth and preservation.

Clearly it is not possible to pay detailed attention to all the components of the contemporary scene. I would have liked to see, however, more consideration of the state's peoples. Women, Chicanos and Indians, for example, are hardly mentioned. More of the daily lives of Wyoming ranchers, miners and other workers could have been included. Impacted areas merited more thorough analysis. Oral history could have been employed profitably at a number of junctures.

Nonetheless, *History of Wyoming* is an important and valuable book. It demonstrates again the author's unparalleled familiarity with and his deep affection for this state. And in the best tradition of state and local history, the final chapters represent not a mere hymn of praise, but a critical, thoughtful view of our recent past.

*University of Wyoming*

PETER IVERSON

*The Genteel Gentile. Letters of Elizabeth Cumming, 1857-1858.*  
Ed. and introduction and notes by Ray R. Canning and Beverly Beeton. (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1977). 111 pp. Index. Bib. Illus. \$12.50.

Many journals and diaries have been published about the rigors of the trip west but few give as vivid an account of this journey, in the 1850s, as Elizabeth Cumming does in her letters. There are eighteen letters in this collection; fifteen addressed to her sister-in-law, Anne Elizabeth Cumming; two to her husband, Governor Alfred Cumming; and one to her sister-in-law, Sarah Wallace Cumming.

At forty-six years of age, Elizabeth Cumming had been the wife of the Mayor of Atlanta, Georgia; followed her husband when he was sutler for General Zachary Taylor's Army in Mexico and later on to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri; then moved with him to St. Louis, where he was Superintendent of Indian Affairs on the Upper Missouri.

In this book she tells of another move—a trip to Utah Territory.

In the summer of 1857, President James Buchanan announced that he was sending an army to Utah to preserve peace. There had been a question of who enforced law in this area—the federal government or the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints.

At this time President Buchanan, also appointed Alfred Cumming to be the first non-Mormon governor of the Utah Territory, replacing Brigham Young.

The timing of their trip (September and October) toward Utah

made the new governor's party fight the bitter cold weather as well as the loss of many of their animals from starvation. The Mormons, hoping to discourage them, had burned advanced supply wagons and the grass that was necessary feed for the animals.

In her November, 1857, letter Elizabeth states some of the animals froze standing motionless. Also, she wrote, although they burned the extra wagons for cooking fuel there wasn't wood for heat and consequently many suffered. She had a painful frost-bitten foot.

These circumstances made the group spend the winter in tents at Camp Scott, Utah Territory (later called Eckelsville) close to Fort Bridger. Elizabeth worried about the winter discontent of the men along with the shortage of supplies—salt in particular, but still gives the impression she enjoyed these months in the mountains.

In April her husband went on to Salt Lake with Colonel Kane, Brigham Young's peace ambassador. Here contrary to predictions he made a peaceable meeting with the church leader.

Alfred returned to Camp Scott and in June, Elizabeth accompanied him to Salt Lake City. She writes that spring brought out her beauty to display for them as they rode down Echo Canyon and on the Golden Pass Road (Parley's Canyon).

Brigham Young ordered most of his followers to vacate the City of Salt Lake in case the U. S. Army proved hostile. The silence of this City impressed the governor's wife. After Johnson and the U. S. Army passed through without a single incident many returned to their homes from southern Utah and it became a normal city again.

William Staines' mansion was the Cummings' first home in this City. Different members of the Church had supplied all the necessary furniture and household equipment for them to use—even china dishes and a piano.

In July of 1858, when the Staines returned from the south, a small adobe house next to the Salt Lake Theatre served as their home.

Here Elizabeth met some of the Mormon wives, whom she liked. Among them was Mary Anne Angell Young, Brigham Young's second wife, who visited with her several times a week. They talked about religion and the Mormon way of life.

The footnotes of Ray Canning and Beverly Beeton add much to make this book more informative.

*The Outlaw Trail. A Journey Through Time.* By Robert Redford. (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1976). 223 pp. Index. Illus. \$25.00.

An actual path along the trails used by Western outlaws would start in northern Montana and wind through much of Wyoming into Utah, Colorado and New Mexico all the way to the Mexican border. Robert Redford chooses to start his retracing of outlaw forays near Kaycee, Wyoming, at Hole-in-the-Wall, a desperado hideout in a great red cliff fortress which overlooks a wide fertile valley, convenient for grazing stolen cattle and horses.

There Redford met the eight companions who would ride with him across the plains, past the ghost towns and through the wild ravines that were the territory of Butch Cassidy, the McCarty brothers and Cleophas Dowd. He records a personal journey through time that avoids nostalgia but recreates a bit of the past through the voices of the present. Redford and his riders talk at length to the ranchers and cowboys along the trail, some of them as fiercely individualistic as yesterday's outlaws. It is largely through these conversations that the author transmits his deep concern that the onslaught of "progress" is destroying the land as well as altering a cherished western way of life.

More than a third of the narrative is devoted to Wyoming as the group rides southwest to Atlantic City and South Pass City, "the first stop where we sensed a major attempt to preserve a part of our national heritage . . . It was a flashback to the early promise of our national fiber," Redford says.

The party moved in pony express style, stopping at ranches for fresh food and horses. The route took them to Brown's Park, Colorado, and Robbers' Roost, Utah, ending in the prehistoric wonderland of the Lake Powell and Escalante River canyons.

*The Outlaw Trail* is a coffee table book in the best sense of the term. Its cover, featuring an unshaven, rugged Redford against a brilliant western sky, is more provocative as a conversation piece than the ubiquitous heavyweight art book designed (or acquired?) to suggest erudition. Inside the cover, good taste is evident, though a few fans may be disappointed that the film star's fine features appear only where appropriate to the narrative. Magnificent color photographs by Jonathan Blair and historic prints complement the writer's unpretentious but perceptive prose.

All are bound together by the strength of Redford's love for the western outdoors and its people. His is a reflective book, full of respect for ordinary men and of wonder at their extraordinary environment.

Cheyenne

ADELINE McCABE

*Steamboats on the Colorado River 1852-1907.* By Richard E. Lingenfelter. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1978.) 195 pp. Index. Illus. Paper \$9.50; cloth \$17.50.

The overall development of the West was intimately tied up with the course of steam navigation of rivers because rivers provided the avenue of ingress from the ocean to the interior. In fact, for many years, paddle wheel steamboats were the cheapest and most efficient form of transportation to the interior of the continent until they were eclipsed completely by railroads and much later by the automobile.

This book details the story of steam navigation on the Colorado and every patch of smooth water of its tributaries from 1852 to 1916 and from the Gulf of California along 600 miles of rapids just below the Grand Canyon and on tributaries clear up the Green River in Wyoming, about 1600 miles from the Gulf.

For many years that mode of transportation was the very lifeline of Arizona, being used by miners, ranchers, and merchants with their goods, tools and machinery, and carrying out rich ore from silver, copper, and lead mines. Mines and settlements would have waited years for development had boats not been feasible.

The Colorado meanders through long valleys connected by some narrow canyons and between banks lined with cottonwoods, willows, and mesquite. It is shallow in places, tremendously swift in others. Constantly shifting currents created a maze of sand bars which increased the danger of running aground. It was soon ascertained that a boat should not draw over  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 feet of water. It is hot, dry country.

Crews had a difficult time foraging for fuel and the sun, wind, sand and smoke were more than many could stand. The daily tidal bore in the delta area was enormously high and many anchors were lost before boatmen learned to cope with that phenomenon. Boats had to be shipped to different places in pieces and assembled there.

The book is well written and completely documented. There are more than 100 photos, drawings, and maps to illuminate the text. In addition, there are a list of the steamboats on the Colorado and its tributaries plus the date of launching and the final disposition of each; a chronological list of steamboat operators; and a table of distances along the lower Colorado River. Information on gasoline powered boats is also provided.

Since Fort Yuma and Fort Mohave were long supplied by steamboats, this book relates closely to the military history of the region, control of the Cocopahs, Yumas, Chemehuevis, and Mohaves and the securing of overland routes to California.

When the first railroad train crossed the river in September, in 1877, at Yuma, steamboats began to play a decreasing role, and

dams to provide irrigation water sounded the actual death knell of steamboating.

This is a worthwhile addition to the historiography of several western states. Professionals and buffs alike will find it entertaining and useful.

*Fort Lewis College*

ROBERT W. DELANEY

*The Cheyennes of Montana.* By Thomas B. Marquis. (Algonac, Mich.: Reference Publications, Inc., 1978). 297 pp. Index. Illus. Maps. \$19.50.

On July 3, 1922, Dr. Thomas B. Marquis became the agency physician for the northern Cheyenne. Thus began a relationship between the Cheyenne and the versatile Marquis which lasted until the latter's death in 1935. A doctor by training, and a lawyer by accident, Marquis was primarily a historian during the last twelve years of his life. The primary sources for his books were the handful of Cheyenne who had survived two decades of Indian wars and four decades of the white man's Indian policies. Marquis' many interviews with these survivors formed the backbone of *The Cheyennes of Montana*. Only recently published, the book was the last manuscript Marquis wrote before his death.

The core of the work is built upon two sections, the first being a set of four interviews. Two of the narratives trace the lives of a ninety-two-year-old woman and an eighty-three-year-old man. Their stories mention events dating back to the Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1851. A third interview concerns a Cheyenne man who served as a scout with the Army in the late 1880s. His service with Lt. Edward Casey's scouts in the Sioux campaign of 1890 is recalled. The recollections of Jules Chaudel, a white man who also served with the Cheyenne scouts at Fort Keogh completes the personal narratives. Chaudel's reminiscences deal with Indian-white relations in the Keogh area after the Indian wars. The second portion of the book consists of Marquis' observations on the Cheyenne life style as he observed it in the early 1920s. The section covers such diverse cultural subjects as religion, domestic relations, and amusements.

*The Cheyennes of Montana* constitutes a memorial to Thomas B. Marquis. The first fifty pages are devoted to a biography of Marquis by editor Thomas D. Weist. In his biographical sketch, Weist not only gives a background to the writing of *The Cheyennes of Montana*, but also explains the purpose of much of Marquis' writing. In the various histories of the Indian wars written in the 1920s, there is a discernible lack of the Indian's side of the story. This book, and other Marquis writings, such as the *Memoirs of a*

*White Crow Indian*, are attempts to fill the void in the historiography of the clash between Indians and whites.

*The Cheyennes of Montana* offers something of value to readers with a variety of interests. The historian will find the four interviews of particular value for a view of the activities of the Cheyenne in the second half of the nineteenth century. Editor Weist takes great pains to verify and explain, where possible, many of the incidents related by the ancients. Anthropologists can use Marquis' observations on Cheyenne culture as a point of comparison for other works. Finally the general reader will find the book interesting, and most importantly, informative.

Graduate Assistant  
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LARRY D. ROBERTS

*A Journal of Travels to and from California. With Full Details of the Hardships and Privations; also a Description of the Country, Mines, Cities, Towns &c.* By John T. Clapp, of Kalamazoo, Michigan. (Republished by the Kalamazoo Public Museum, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1977). Paper.

This journal by John T. Clapp, about his journey to the California gold fields from Kalamazoo, Michigan, and back, was originally published in 1851. As part of the Bicentennial celebration the Kalamazoo Public Museum republished the journal in 1977.

The Museum used copies from the Newberry Library of Chicago and Yale University's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library to publish a facsimile reproduction of the original. The reproduction, therefore, includes the sometimes faint and broken typography of the original, which occasionally makes reading difficult.

In addition to the sixty-seven-page journal are brief biographies, gleaned from census, tax, assessment, and cemetery records and newspapers, of all the men mentioned in the journal from the Kalamazoo area.

The journal, for the most part, is a straightforward account of preparations for the trip in early March, 1850, and descriptions of the towns they passed through in settled areas, landscape and landmarks along the Oregon Trail, river crossings, weather, provisions, wild life, Indians, their horses' health and disposition, and the men with whom Clapp traveled. He also wrote of conditions in the California gold mining areas he saw and his trip back to Michigan via the Isthmus of Panama and New York City by ship.

Fort Laramie, Laramie Peak, Independence Rock, "Sweet Water" River, Devil's Gate, South Pass, Fremont's Peak, and the Green River are some of the Wyoming landmarks described.

The reader can't help but be impressed by the apparently heavy traffic along the trail from descriptions of the many other trains Clapp and his companions encountered. He also wrote of all the goods and equipment left along the trail to lighten the load. Clapp discovered an Indian woman playing no recognizable tune on an "accordeon," which was probably found by the woman after its California-bound owner abandoned it.

Occasionally, the author takes off on rhetorical flights of fancy. His description of howling wolves along the Sweetwater west of Devil's Gate on June 9th leans strongly toward the melodramatic.

"The thundering sounds from the fierce multitude, struck our ears like a death knell; knowing not, but that our bodies, now beaming with the radii of life, would soon be masticated between their greedy jaws; and that our consecrated blood, now coursing through its thousand veins to the temple of life, the Heart, would soon flow in one isolated channel, down their voracious throats, thirsting for human gore."

That is the most extreme example of Clapp's rather sensational writing style, which was not uncommon in the mid-19th century. He is also inspired upon occasion to write a few verses of poetry in the midst of his journal entries, which are more romantic than his prose on wolves.

For California Gold Rush, Oregon Trail and Western history buffs, this small volume might well be a welcome addition to your collection of resource material. Extant copies of the original publication are few and far between. The Kalamazoo Public Museum should be commended for making the journal easily available to historians, amateur and professional alike.

*Archivist/Historian  
Wyoming State Archives, Museums  
and Historical Department*

PAULETTE J. WEISER

*The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West.* Charles Redd Monographs in Western History No. 9. Ed., Richard H. Jackson. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978). Maps. Charts.

This paperbound book deals mainly with the role of the Mormon people's occupation of the land they settled. It is divided into seven segments—each written by a different author—and edited by Richard H. Jackson, who also writes the first chapter. Dr. Jackson traces the Mormon migration to the Great Salt Lake Valley through various diaries of the pioneers.

Melvin Smith's section deals with the effort of the Mormon

people to settle an area less than one hundred miles square in the arid region of the lower Colorado River. Bounded on the east by the Grand Canyon, on the north by the Virgin and Muddy Rivers, on the west by Las Vegas Wash and on the south by the Needles, it was a lava-strewn, eroded and sandblown land. Dr. Smith analyzes both the Mormon and non-Mormon explorers of this area.

The segment written by Lynn A. Rosenvall examines the reasons behind the failure and abandonment of various settlements in Idaho, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, California and Wyoming. He touches on the failures of settlements in Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska and Mexico due to religious conflicts.

Most failures in the West were due to inadequate water supply, unexpected floods and short growing seasons. The colonists did not "give up" readily. Only three settlements were abandoned within the first year. Some lasted as long as sixty years. The estimated lifetime was twenty-two years. Dr. Rosenvall points out that the significant aspect is not that forty-six settlements failed, but that many survived and indeed made the "desert blossom as a rose."

Alan Grey compares the colonizing of the Mormons in Salt Lake City to the settlement of Christchurch (originally the Canterbury Settlement) in New Zealand. Both settlements were in remote areas, and founded upon explicit religious and social principles.

In chapter four, Charles Peterson analyzes the development of the agricultural system, villages, homesteads and dry farms of the Mormon people.

The population growth in the Mormon Core area, 1847-1890, is covered by Wayne L. Wahlquist. Dr. Wahlquist has tabulated the official census statistics not only of the entire territory but of individual communities as well.

Dean R. Louder and Lowell Bennion have compiled a detailed account of the development of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Beginning with the struggle for statehood and organized colonization, they follow the expansion of the L. D. S. Church across the United States and to other countries. This final chapter includes a series of maps covering a hundred year span—1860-1960—of progress.

One of the strong points of the book is the well-documented maps and tables that accompany each chapter. The book is well researched and footnoted.

This publication will be of great value to all those seeking a more in-depth analysis of the development and growth of the Mormon people.

*LaBarge, Wyoming*

WANDA VASEY

*A Piece of the Old Tent: A Catalog of Items in the Lane County Pioneer Museum That Were Brought Across the Plains in the 1840's and 1850's.* By Glenn Mason. (Eugene, Ore.: Lane County Pioneer Museum, 1976). 44 pp. Illus. \$3.00.

"A piece of the old tent of 1853" was a memento of Thomas and Hannah Williams who made the hazardous crossing of the Oregon Trail. A photograph of this item, along with other artifacts from the long trip form the basis for this book on travels and travelers of the Oregon Trail.

Formulated as an interpretive aid for the museum's Bicentennial exhibit, the book project was supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts. It is divided into two sections. The narrative portion describes and illustrates the outfitting of an emigrant for the trip. Brief quotes from publications of the era are used to vividly illustrate the problems and preparations relating to the Oregon journey.

In Hastings' *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California*, as quoted in the catalog, he warned that "Very few cooking utensils should be taken, as they very much increase the load, to avoid which, is always a consideration of paramount importance." One of the most consistent warnings given to emigrants was that against overloading the wagons which would lead to the eventual abandonment of many of their goods. The two most important considerations for any traveler, according to most of the literature, were provisions and the teams used.

Portraits of the various pioneers, such as Sarah Snelling Tandy, point out a fact of trail life often overlooked by movie producers—the hardships aged even handsome women in a hurry. And, Sarah Tandy was a handsome though careworn woman. No wonder. She rode the Oregon Trail seated in a chair in the back of a covered wagon, suffering with arthritis every mile of the way. Her battered chair, along with her portrait, are pictured in the book.

*A Piece of the Old Tent* also serves to remind us that many of the wagon trains were villages on the move. People from all walks of life worked cooperatively to ensure the success of their travels. The "Tools of the Trade" chapter quotes Rolf Geer, an 1847 pioneer, who noted that in his wagon train there were preachers, doctors, lawyers, merchants, nurserymen, stockmen, millwrights, carpenters and men of many other careers represented.

Excellent photography by Andy Whipple brings out the details of the fine artifacts in the collection. The layout is neatly done, and borders on many of the photographs are suitable to the 1800s. I would like to have seen a wide-angle photo of any area in the museum which featured some of the artifacts, even if it also con-

tained some non-Oregon Trail material. It is always interesting to see how various museums handle their displays. Also, other museums' staff members could have seen how the artifacts were integrated into regular displays.

In the second section of the publication is a listing of all of the museum's artifacts which can be documented as coming across the plains to Oregon. Although the museum houses books, manuscripts, and maps which were brought on the trip West, these were excluded because of the nature of the Bicentennial exhibit.

I am puzzled about one object in the book. On page nine is a photograph of a "cast iron muffin pan." I thought it was a cornbread-stick pan—perhaps it was used for both. But that is a minor detail for a book which can be a valuable tool for researchers, of interest to the general public, and an inspiration to museum staffs planning to prepare and catalog special-theme exhibits.

*Thermopolis*

DOROTHY MILEK

*The Country Railroad Station in America.* By H. Roger Grant and Charles W. Bohi. (Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Publishing Company, 1978). 183 pp. Index. Illus. \$22.50.

The country railroad station is reminiscent of an era in our history which lasted a relatively short time between the horse and automobile eras; but while it lasted, it played a significant role.

Before the railroad reached the rural communities, horse-drawn equipment provided the only transportation for freight, mail, passengers, and outgoing products of the community. Imagine the changes which took place when the railroad and its subsequent depot arrived! The depot became a source of great local pride and camaraderie, and its socioeconomic importance to the town was unquestionable.

It is interesting to read about the nearly-forgotten railroad station, and to review the over three hundred pictures and excellent captions which illustrate the evolution of country depots all over America and Canada. One seldom thinks of the similarities and differences in floor plan and architecture of these stations.

Libraries should consider it as a resource book. Students of depot architecture, or those with a real interest in railroads and depots, will find this an interesting book. The many architectural details could be boring to most students of history, and the price—a whopping \$22.50—"a bit much" for most home libraries.

We should feel thankful to the authors for their well-written tribute to the country railroad station. Many of the photographs

were taken by Mr. Bohi before many of the stations were destroyed or moved, and are therefore of great historical value. Mr. Grant is a professional historian, writer, and a professor at the University of Akron, Ohio.

*Saratoga Historical  
and Cultural Association*

ELVA EVANS

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*Dust to Dust. Obituaries of the Gunfighters.* Compiled by Jerry J. Gaddy. Illustrations by Dale Crawford. A Michael J. Koury Book, co-published by Presidio Press, San Rafael, Calif. and The Old Army Press, Fort Collins, Colo., 1977. 160 pp. Illus. \$11.95.

*Sports & Recreation in the West.* Ed., Donald J. Mrozek. (Manhattan, Kan.: Sunflower University Press, 1978). 107 pp. Index. Illus. Paper.

*The Western Territories in the Civil War.* Ed., LeRoy H. Fischer. (Manhattan, Kan.: Journal of the West, Inc., 1977). 120 pp. Index. Maps. Illus. Paper, \$6.00.

*The Cowboy. An Unconventional History of Civilization on the Old-Time Cattle Range.* By Philip Ashton Rollins. Revised and enlarged edition. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press). 402 pp. Index. Illus. Paper, \$7.50.

## *Contributors*

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ESTER JOHANSSON MURRAY (MRS. JOHN A.) is a native of Cody, the daughter of an old-time guide on Park County dude ranches. She is a graduate of the University of Wyoming. Mrs. Murray has had historical articles published in *In Wyoming* and is a member of Wyoming Writers. She lives in Billings with her husband and two daughters.

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## WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

The Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department has as its function the collection and preservation of the record of the people of Wyoming. It maintains the state's historical library and research center, the Wyoming State Museum and branch museums, the Wyoming State Art Gallery and the State Archives.

The Department asks for the assistance of all Wyoming citizens in its effort to secure and preserve records and materials. The Department facilities are designed to preserve these materials from loss and deterioration. Such records and materials include:

Biographical and autobiographical materials, diaries, letters, account books, private records of individuals such as correspondence, manuscripts and scrapbooks.

Business records of industries of the state, including livestock, mining, agriculture, railroads, manufacturers, merchants, ministers, educators and military personnel.

Records of organizations active in the religious, educational, social, economic and political life of the state, including their publications such as yearbooks and reports.

Manuscripts and printed articles on towns, counties and any significant topic dealing with the history of the state.

Early newspapers, maps, pictures, pamphlets and books on Western subjects.

Current publications by individuals or organizations throughout the state.

Museum materials with historic significance such as Indian artifacts, items related to the activities of persons in Wyoming or with special events in the state's history.

All forms of Western art works including etchings, paintings in all media and sculpture.





## THE WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

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*ABOUT THE COVER—Dave Paulley, noted Wyoming artist, painted the work featured on the cover especially for Annals of Wyoming's new format. The work is entitled "The Road to Riches." A native of Osage, Wyoming, Paulley has been painting professionally since 1968. His work has been displayed in numerous galleries and permanent collections of art museums throughout the West. He lives and works in Cheyenne.*



# ANNALS of WYOMING

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This Fall 1979 issue of *Annals of Wyoming* is presented to our readers with a new look, a fresh approach and a rejuvenated style. Fundamental changes in size, the increased use of color, feature articles, photographs, attention to graphic design, and even a more readable type face have been initiated. In the future, assuming continued legislative support, efforts will be made to select article styles and subject matter that are of interest to a greater number of our readers. We hope our audience will find these alterations pleasing. Your comments will be appreciated.

Our cover for this new formatted issue is especially distinguished with a fine painting by one of Wyoming's favorite sons, Dave Paulley. It is an original piece of art, specifically executed for this use. The painting is now a permanent part of our Museum Division's collection. While it is unlikely that we will be able to promise an original art work for each issue, the more extensive use of this type of cover piece is planned.

You will also note the timeliness of the Fall 1979 issue of *Annals*. After a three year period of ever increasing production problems, we pledged at the beginning of 1979 to reestablish *Annals of Wyoming* on its proper time table. With this issue that pledge is fulfilled! Every effort will be exercised to maintain our publication schedule in the future.

We hope that this new look of our journal will serve as a harbinger of an equally new look in the Wyoming State Historical Society, and our entire Department. Internal changes are taking place within the Department. We also have an expanded name, a new "logo" and expect to assist in expansion of the State Historical Society and the cause of historic studies and preservation in Wyoming.

Vincent P. Foley, Director  
Wyoming State Archives, Museums  
and Historical Department

# WYOMING: *Still the Cowboy State?*

*By Peter Iverson*



*(This informal article is based on the luncheon address to the annual meeting of the Wyoming State Historical Society, held in Laramie, September, 1979.)*

The history of Wyoming did not end in 1890. It is an ongoing process. It is a continuing story. This is not to deny the attraction nor the importance of the pioneering days. But as the twentieth century evolves, there are new and vital questions to be asked. For example: is Wyoming still the cowboy state? I am not sure I have the answer. But I do think the question is worth asking. Perhaps the answer today might be beginning to change from the automatic answer of years past.

Surely no one can question that we have been the cowboy state. In fact this year we observe the centennial of the founding of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association. That organization, as we all know, has had a century of influence in our politics and upon our values. Cattlemen definitely have played central roles in our government and in our society. The cowboy remains a basic figure in our history and in our folklore.

Indeed, where would we be without the cowboy stories? Was it a Wyoming cowboy to whom the following happened? On a sweltering day, he decided to try a swim (and given the limited natatorial abilities of most cowboys, try is about right). He took off his clothes, sauntered over to the edge of a creek and plunged in. As he was in midflight, a drought dried up the stream. Fortunately, a sudden flash flood then came down the dry bed. The cowboy splashed into the water, but as he

struggled to the surface, an east wind swept in and froze the surface into solid ice. The sun providentially appeared and evaporated the stream dry once more. So all the cowboy got out of it was a bad sunburn.

Was it a Wyoming cowboy who said: "One thing you can say for this country is that it has more cows and less butter, more streams and less water, and you can look farther and see less than in any other place in the world"? Was it a Wyoming cowboy who responded to the newcomer's question: "Does the wind blow this way all the time?" by saying "Uh, no . . . It blows the other direction about half the time."?

Here it was, after all, that the Virginian came. Here it was that the Johnson County War was fought. We were indebted to the cowboy for his impact not only

*"Some might even contend  
that today's turkeys  
are now flocking here."*

on our folklore but on our economy. As Al Larson reminds us, we liked the cowboy because he was attracted here and he stayed here.<sup>2</sup> And so the Wyoming men's athletic teams became the cowboys and the women's teams, the cowgirls. Lester Hunt in his stint as secretary of state put the cowboy on our license plate. And the dentist from Lander was right. We were the cowboy state.

But are we still? Quite deliberately, I believe, Al Larson in his *Wyoming: A History*, written for the Norton series, goes from chapter four, "The Cowboy State," to a concluding chapter five, "The Energy State." Times have changed. Look at how different Laramie is from the last time it hosted the state historical society convention. For that matter, look at how different it is from, say, 1976, the Dark Ages prior to the advent of McDonald's, Burger King, Arby's, Pizza Hut, Long John Silver's, the Sirloin Stockade and other monuments to modern American digestion. Look at most other towns in this state. We are expanding and the main reason is not hard to discover. Our mineral resources have fueled a population growth and a rise in our real estate values. Neighboring agricultural states such as South Dakota cast perhaps an envious eye. My friend Dave Miller, who teaches at Black Hills State College just over the state line in Spearfish, is fond of talking about Wyoming citizens as "you Saudis."

How different it all is from the mid-1960's. Our governor no longer need go around the country feeding wild turkey dinners to industrialists; some might even contend that today the turkeys are now flocking here. In the classic journalistic overview, *Westward Tilt*, written in the early '60's, Neil Morgan said that industrialization would not occur here for a long, long time.<sup>3</sup> Almost anywhere you choose to drive, be it from Sage to Green

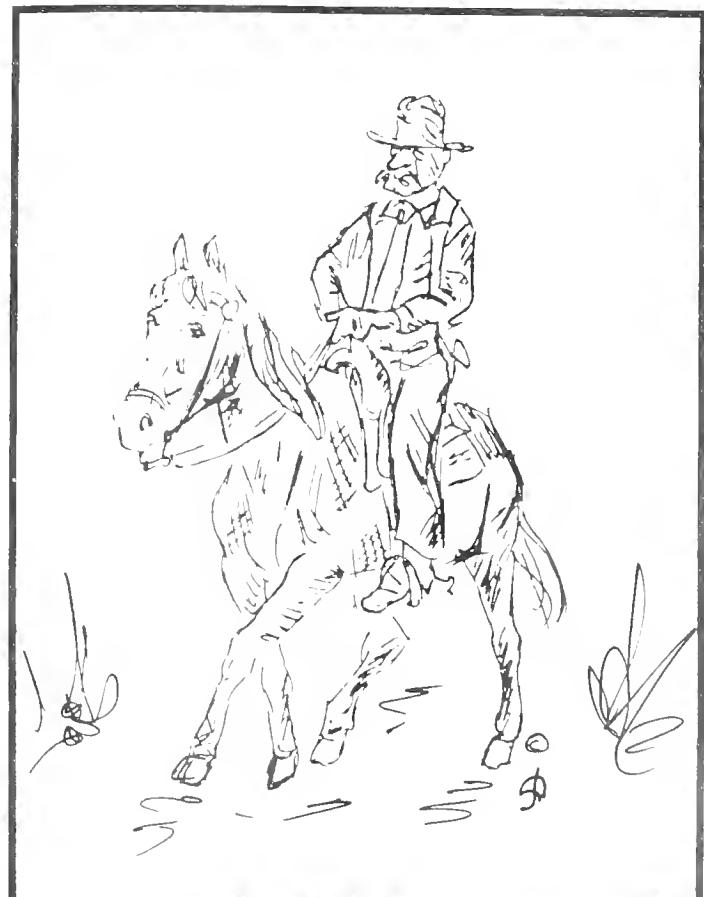
River, from Chugwater to Guernsey, signs of industrialization are present. A new town like Wright emerges. Even Wamsutter suffers from urban sprawl. Money is pouring into the state's coffers. And most of the dollars are mineral dollars.

*"Even Wamsutter suffers  
from urban sprawl."*

So what do we do? What about the cowboy as symbol? Is it time to put a fellow with a hardhat on our license plate? Should we call our football team the miners (which has nothing to do with our football team's inclination to go underground after the Washington game)?

If industry is ascending, is ranching descending? Younger people in Wyoming may now know less about the cowboy heritage. Students in my classes at the university have usually heard of the Johnson County War, for example, but they often can't quite remember just who was involved. If they recall the Virginian, they may have heard it was some old show on television.

What about those who would like to be ranchers? They tend to find it difficult. Those from ranching backgrounds discover that, aided by mechanization, Dad seems to be able to hold on longer. It may be, as my brother-in-law said a few years back, that when the kids went away to college the operation sure got mechanized



in a hurry. But advances in machinery allow a rancher to continue on for more years, by which time his children may be in their 30's or 40's and committed to alternative careers. But even if Dad is willing to let go of the business he has quite literally sweat blood over, it's awkward if not impossible financially for him to let go and let a son or daughter take over. In the meantime, everyone hopes that given inheritance laws as they now stand, Dad doesn't die unexpectedly, for Mom isn't going to get much credit for her years of unpaid volunteer labor.

What if you were not smart enough to be born into a ranching family? It's best probably not to even think about going into ranching, then. If you have enough money to buy a good, working ranch now, you'd spend it some other way. Agricultural land changes in values as town and industry grow nearer. In a state where zoning is usually seen as a four letter word plus two, the financial temptation to subdivide looms. Material costs accelerate. It's incredible what a new tractor will sell for or how much one must invest for a new fence. Admittedly, for the moment, cattle prices are good. But for how long? And for how many? How many Wyoming kids now are ranch kids? For that matter, how many participate in rodeo? On the professional rodeo circuit, at least, the Wyoming cowboy is in trouble. Local observers grumble over the absence of Wyoming cowpokes from the top ten

in any rodeo category. Why some of the top cowboys now come from California—and that seems to old-timers a positively nauseating spectacle.

---

*"How many Wyoming kids  
now are ranch kids?"*

---

Times have changed. Once dominant in the Wyoming legislature, the ranching interests begin to pale before the mining interests. Counties that once had ranching as a primary concern now send representatives to Cheyenne that appear more involved with mineral matters. This in turn affects our laws relating to water and land use.

Ironies abound. As someone recently suggested, the ranchers are something like the Indians now: fighting a society that seems to know increasingly less about them, fighting a culture that feels as though their land can be put to some higher, better use. The Indian, they said, was vanishing. His way of life was disappearing. It was the end of the trail: a catchy phrase soon borrowed by western motels. But the conventional wisdom was wrong. The Indians did not vanish. They changed. Today, half a century after their predicted demise, they are far more numerous than they were 50 years ago.

The cowboy is changing, too. And that adaptability may mean that it is perhaps too soon to change the



nickname of this state. A modern cowboy might thus echo Mark Twain contending that the reports of his death are greatly exaggerated. I still like the description of the cowboy that Fred Gipson gave us some years back:

"He can rope a cow out of a brush patch so thick that a Hollywood cowboy couldn't crawl into it on his hands and knees. He can break a horse for riding, doctor a wormy sheep, make a balky gasoline engine pump water for thirsty cattle, tail up a winter-poor cow, or punch a string of post holes across a rocky ridge. He can make out with patched gear, sorry mounts and skimpy grub and still get the job done. He can do it in freezing weather or under a sun hot enough to raise blisters on a

---

*"Fighting a culture that  
feels as though their land  
could be put to some  
higher, better use."*

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boot heel. And all the time, under any circumstances, he works with the thorough understanding that it's the livestock that counts, not the cowhand."<sup>4</sup>

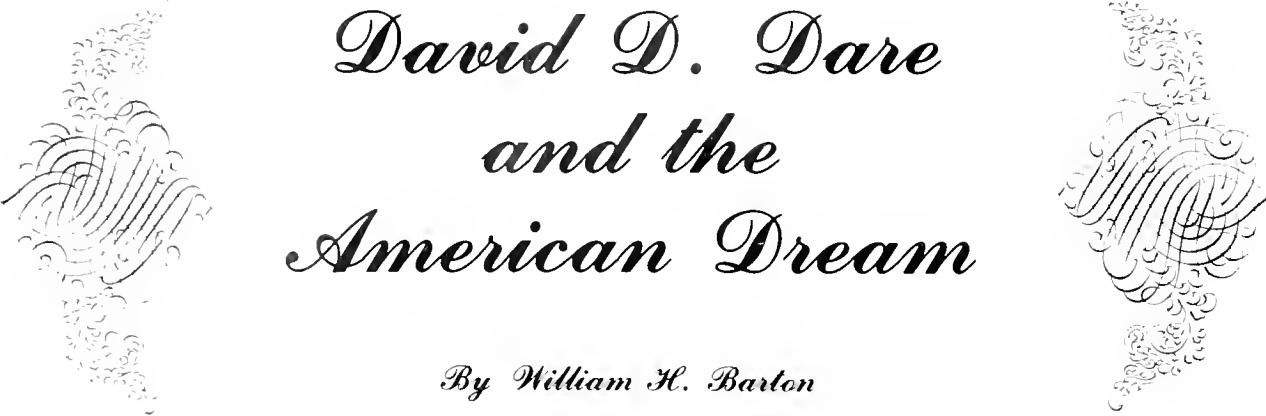
Change. To paraphrase Joe Frantz and Julian Choate, today's cowboy may now have an air conditioned tractor and indoor plumbing. He puts his hay up differently. He eats at home or may get his hot meals via pickup truck. He may use jeeps and airplanes. He may let the radio sing to his cattle rather than sing off key himself. He is still a cowboy.<sup>5</sup>

And his skills and way of life still offer something and will offer something down the road. For minerals are non-renewable and our mineral wealth, much as some might wish otherwise, is not inexhaustible. And when most of the minerals are gone, what will we do with our land? Who will want to stay to survive the winters and the wind? Who will appreciate the sunrise? Who will be able to use the land that remains, not only to provide himself a livelihood, but to benefit others as well?

Things may change, but old satisfactions remain. There is pride in the newborn calf. There is the pleasure of being one's own boss. There is knowledge that hard work can matter. There is the awareness that one's life is important. For the cowboy, the means have changed but the ends have not. And in changing, the cowboy, too, will not vanish. His has been a critical contribution to this state. Difficult days are ahead. Yet one suspects he will endure. Will Wyoming continue to be the cowboy state? I think we should hope the answer is yes.



1. Stan Hoig, *The Humor of the American Cowboy* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1958), pp.37,40.
2. T. A. Larson, *Wyoming A History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1977), p.142.
3. Neil Morgan, *Westward Tilt. The American West Today* (New York: Random House, 1963), pp.244-65.
4. Fred Gipson, *The Cattlemen*, quoted in Joe Frantz and Julian Ernest Choate, Jr., *The American Cowboy The Myth and the Reality* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), pp.59-60.
5. Frantz and Choate, *The American Cowboy*, p.60



# *David D. Dare and the American Dream*

*By William H. Barton*

Ambition has long been applauded in this country and when it pays off in financial success, the applause becomes an ovation. For generations, the American Dream has been success and the displays of success were a large and impressive home, a tasteful, elegant lifestyle and most important, a lovely and accomplished wife. In the history of Wyoming, many men have had all those, and many men have acquired them in a rags to riches rise, which increased the praise accorded them. David Daniel Dare was such a man, and when his star was in its ascendancy, he was the American Dream come true. His was the stereotype of the success story that has been the picture of life as many would have it.

According to the 1880 Wyoming Territorial Census, Dare was born in 1847 in Pennsylvania. Judging from the vocations in which he engaged in his life, and from the accomplishments to his credit, he enjoyed the benefits of a fair education. He was by most accounts a most personable individual and had the gifts of charm and eloquence.<sup>1</sup> He was of an age to have served briefly in the Union Army at the end of the Civil War, but perhaps was clever enough or young enough to have eluded military service altogether. No record of military service was located.

He came to Cheyenne before the town was a decade old, probably in 1874, and acted as the town postal clerk.

It was said of the young man,

Mr. Dare has faithfully discharged an important trust and has been acceptable to the public in the trying position of postal clerk, and we wish him full share of prosperity in the future.<sup>2</sup>

Another comment was,

Mr. D. D. Dare of the Cheyenne post office has resigned. Post office clerkships are thankless positions accompanied with hard work and much 'vanity and vexation of the spirit,' We *Dare* [sic] say he will soon secure a position more remunerative and agreeable. He leaves for the East tomorrow on a short visit.<sup>3</sup>

The prophecies and good wishes of both Cheyenne newspapers were to come true and the play of words on Dare's name might have afforded some irony to Wyoming readers fifteen years later if they had a mind to

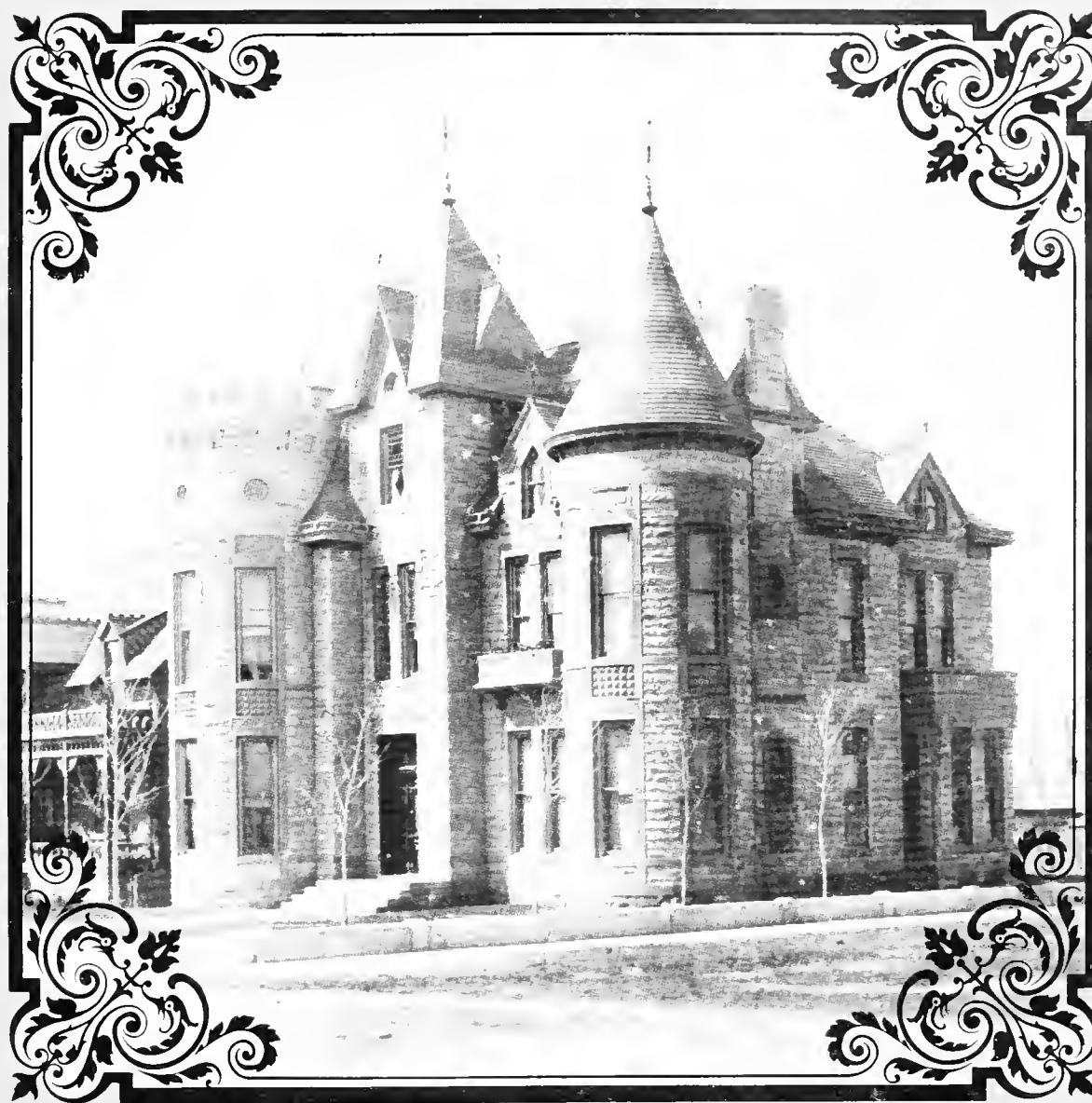
recall them in a retrospective view of the man's activities and adventures.

The trip east may have profited Dare. It was one of many he was to make, ostensibly to obtain capital for the many business ventures in which he would eventually engage.<sup>4</sup>

Upon his return, he entered into partnership with W. W. Sawyer in a photography business. Mention is made of the fact in the October 3, 1876, *Cheyenne Daily Leader*; however, by November of that year, Sawyer was out of the business and Dare was operating independently.<sup>5</sup>

Where and when Dare learned photography is not known, but apparently he was reasonably competent at it judging from the works he left. Photography was not particularly inspired in the 19th century, and since it was a comparatively new art form, the public was not sophisticated enough about it to be very demanding. Dare continued in the photography business by himself until 1878 when he took C. D. Kirkland as partner. Kirkland proved to be a good artist and a bit of a chemist as well. He perfected a half-tone printing paper known as Kirkland Lithium and eventually sold that formula and process to the Eastman Kodak Company. The process of reproducing pictures with a printing press was then new, and Kirkland incorporated that with the previous method which had employed hand engraving. The result was attractive and unusual, and examples of it can be seen in an 1890 pamphlet published in connection with the Wyoming Statehood festivities.<sup>6</sup>

In the fall of 1879 after the White River Indian Uprising in Colorado, Dare was selling, ". . . photographs of all the principal chiefs of the Ute Nation . . ."<sup>7</sup> What appeal lay in these photographs has not been explained, but possibly that sort of item was the predecessor of the popular disaster movies of today. Mementos and memorabilia associated with sensational happenings have been popular with the American public. Currier and Ives had enjoyed tremendous sales of prints of Mississippi steamboat explosions and sinkings.



*Castle Dare*

WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES AND MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

Dare announced that fall that he was going into the furniture business, ". . . to a slight extent."<sup>8</sup> This indicates that he was an accommodating as well as ambitious merchant. One could purchase a photograph of a Ute marauder and then purchase a chair to sit in and look at the picture.

On December 10 of that year Dare married Florence Adele Cronkleton. Kirkland and E. W. Whitcomb witnessed the ceremony.<sup>9</sup> Florence Adele, the daughter of Mary and Seth Cronkleton, had been born in Ohio. Her personal accomplishments in later years indicated that she had an above average education. Photographs that have survived show her to have been a very pretty woman by the standards of the day, with an oval face, even features, and large, beautiful eyes. She dressed fashionably in the early days of the marriage and seemed to have a life-long interest in *haute couture*. Apparently she was displeased with her given names. She almost never used Florence except when necessary on legal documents, and more often than not signed her name,

and was referred to, as Della Dare, rather than Adele. Once or twice, it was turned into Delia.

In the spring of 1880, Dare went east for a stock of picture frames, engravings, and photographic goods, and likely for a belated honeymoon. Kirkland remained behind to have the studio redecorated.<sup>10</sup> It was stated that Dare and Kirkland would have the ". . . noblest place in town,"<sup>11</sup> when it was completed. Brief research has disclosed that nobby was Victorian slang for wealthy and elegant.<sup>12</sup>

Dare and Kirkland continued in partnership for the next few months and in July of 1881, Dare purchased the drug firm that had belonged to the Hurlbut brothers. The place was located at the corner of 17th and Ferguson, later renamed Carey Avenue, in the Carey Block and was considered a good business location.<sup>13</sup>

What qualified Dare to be a druggist cannot be stated, however, it was not unusual for 19th century businessmen to engage in several unrelated enterprises



Victorian Cottage, 108 West 18th Street, Cheyenne.

WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

in the course of their careers.<sup>14</sup> By the time Dare purchased one of the largest and most successful drug stores in Cheyenne, he had been a postal clerk, sold pictures, took photographs, sold *objets d'art*, and had been a sign painter.<sup>15</sup>

In December, 1881, Dare formed a partnership with J. W. Collins, who was then the cashier at the banking firm of Stebbins, Post and Company.<sup>16</sup> Dare was still affiliated with Kirkland and remained so until December of the following year.<sup>17</sup> C. D. Kirkland remained in Cheyenne until 1895 at which time he moved to Denver to live and work until his death in 1926.<sup>18</sup> Severing his business relationship with Dare may have been the most advantageous move the man ever made. It certainly was, in the long run, as consequential as selling out to Eastman Kodak.

Dare's association with Collins was to have a great influence on both his professional and private life, and possibly, he was aware of that when he joined forces with the banker. They bought the business of Addoms and Glover, the oldest drug firm in Cheyenne, in December, 1881. The purpose of this may have been manifold. The Stockgrowers National Bank had announced plans to occupy the location in the Carey Block that had housed Dare and Collins' drug store. The two men needed a

new building for their enterprises, and they may have wanted to increase their operations and sales stock. Dare was to be manager of the two stores, while Collins would retain his position at the bank as cashier. In January, 1883, T. J. Carr sold his property which adjoined the Stebbins, Post and Co. bank, to J. W. Collins for \$7,500.<sup>20</sup> The two business partners were planning to move their drug emporium to that location by the following month.<sup>21</sup>

Advertisements and news items in the Wyoming newspapers of that decade indicate that drug stores operated much as they do today, supplying patrons with much more than medications and nostrums. A column entitled "Cheyenne Collectabra" provided local news and served as a shoppers' guide. It pointed out that,

Dare and Collins have on exhibition a number of curios among them being a music box that operates a mill, causes a ship to mount the waves and a soldier to pace his beat on the top of a turret, while the band plays and the flags wave. They also have a magnificent box that plays a drum and a lot of bells that sound like chimes as an accompaniment to the music. This box plays ten airs and is valued at \$100.<sup>22</sup>

With a going price of one-hundred 1882 dollars, one wonders if they sold many of that item. In an advertisement of that same month, Dare and Collins state that anyone wanting to be kind to the fair sex should drop by

and see their ladies' cases, fans, cards, baskets, work boxes, and other things that strike the feminine eye.<sup>23</sup>

Meanwhile, Dare and his wife had been in the East again, although it is not stated if it was for business or pleasure. Their return on December 16, 1882, elicited mention in the *Cheyenne Daily Leader* of the following day. Possibly, they had been on a mission to raise further capital for business dealings with Collins, and possibly they had been on a buying trip to stock the drug store for the Christmas holidays. A column headlined, "Interesting Investigation," in a Cheyenne newspaper gives some insight into goods available for thoughtful shoppers:

A reporter of the *Daily Sun* had the pleasure of inspecting, examining and investigating the well-known drug store of Messers Dare and Collins and said reporter was astonished at the varied display which certainly seems to compete with stores 'way east and 'way west. Dare and Collins have a very fine assortment of holiday goods, and the variety is so great it is hard to make selections as to those deserving notice but the following items call special attention: a splendid ivory dressing case . . . three sets of amber cases for dressing . . . perfumery cases . . . cut glass bottles . . . elegant inkstands . . . elegant fans, particularly the peacock which surpasses everything in this line ever exhibited in this city.

The firm also offered,

. . . oils, varnishes, paints and painters requirements, imported wines and liquors for medicinal purposes, patent medicines without end.<sup>24</sup>

One might surmise that ailing patrons had to wade through all the aforementioned merchandise to reach the prescription dispensing counter just as they do in today's pharmacies.

Dare and Collins sold one of their stores late in September, 1883, and Dare left for San Antonio, Texas to open a business.<sup>25</sup> It was located at 42 Commerce Street in the heart of downtown San Antonio, and once again, was an art store. It stocked oil paintings, steel engravings and photogravures, carried a line of wall paper and employed the services of a first-class fresco painter. Dare was experienced at retailing that type of goods, but one cannot help but question why Dare and Collins went as far afield as San Antonio to open a branch of their business enterprises. Abrupt, impulsive actions were in keeping with Dare's behavior, but this move arouses suspicion. While it is unexplained, it is recorded. During his stay in the east Texas town, he lived at the exclusive Menger Hotel, which has long been associated with luxury and elegance.

*Della Dare, studio portrait made by her husband D. D. Dare, photographer.*

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Apparently, Dare's whereabouts were important to a former user of the 1883-1884 San Antonio city directory, for in the copy now in the historical collections of the San Antonio Public Library the words, "left Apr 7 84 for Cheyenne" [sic] are written in the margin next to Dare and Collins' business entry, and a line has been drawn through the two names.<sup>26</sup>

One wonders if in all ambition, Dare merely tried out a new territory and found it neither profitable nor to his liking, or if circumstances had grown uncomfortable in Cheyenne and it was expedient for him to remove himself for a time. In light of his subsequent actions, Dare's rapid move to and return from San Antonio leave questions not readily answered.<sup>26</sup>

In August of 1884 Dare again settled in Cheyenne and continued in business with Collins. They had bought out C. P. Organ's hardware business and located the enterprise at 298-300 Ferguson Street with Dare and his wife living across the street above 301 Ferguson.<sup>27</sup>

Dare and Collins maintained low profiles for the next few months, and neither seems to have been active socially. The newspapers of the day were quick to

publish details of parties, balls, country outings and especially events at the new Opera House. The names of Collins and Dare are conspicuously absent from those accounts.

Considering that he had just left the comfort and gracious surroundings of the Menger Hotel in San Antonio, living in a walk-up in the commercial district of town may have been galling to Dare. He and Della had been accustomed to better.

According to information on the back of a photograph once a possession of Della Dare, the family lived for a time at 108 West 18th Street in a charming Victorian cottage ornamented with gingerbread work and criss-cross half timbering. It served as the Territorial Governor's home during the term of William Hale from 1882 to 1885, and along with three other structures of comparable style and size was referred to as Cottage Row.<sup>28</sup> It was said the house was furnished with marble fireplaces and that there was a fountain on the lawn. In high and dry Cheyenne, that must have been a profligate touch; however, things of that sort were certainly in keeping with Dare's tastes and basic needs when one looks at three of his later dwellings. Before it was razed to make way for the present Cheyenne Light, Fuel and Power offices, the little cottage operated as a tea room and was known as The Gables.<sup>29</sup>

By the time the 1886-1887 Cheyenne city directory was published, Dare was listed as living in the 1900 block of Ferguson in the impressive mansion that was possibly then under construction. He was still affiliated with Collins in the Cheyenne Hardware Company. Collins, incidentally, is listed in that same city directory as living at the modest but comfortable address of 210 West 20th Street.<sup>30</sup>

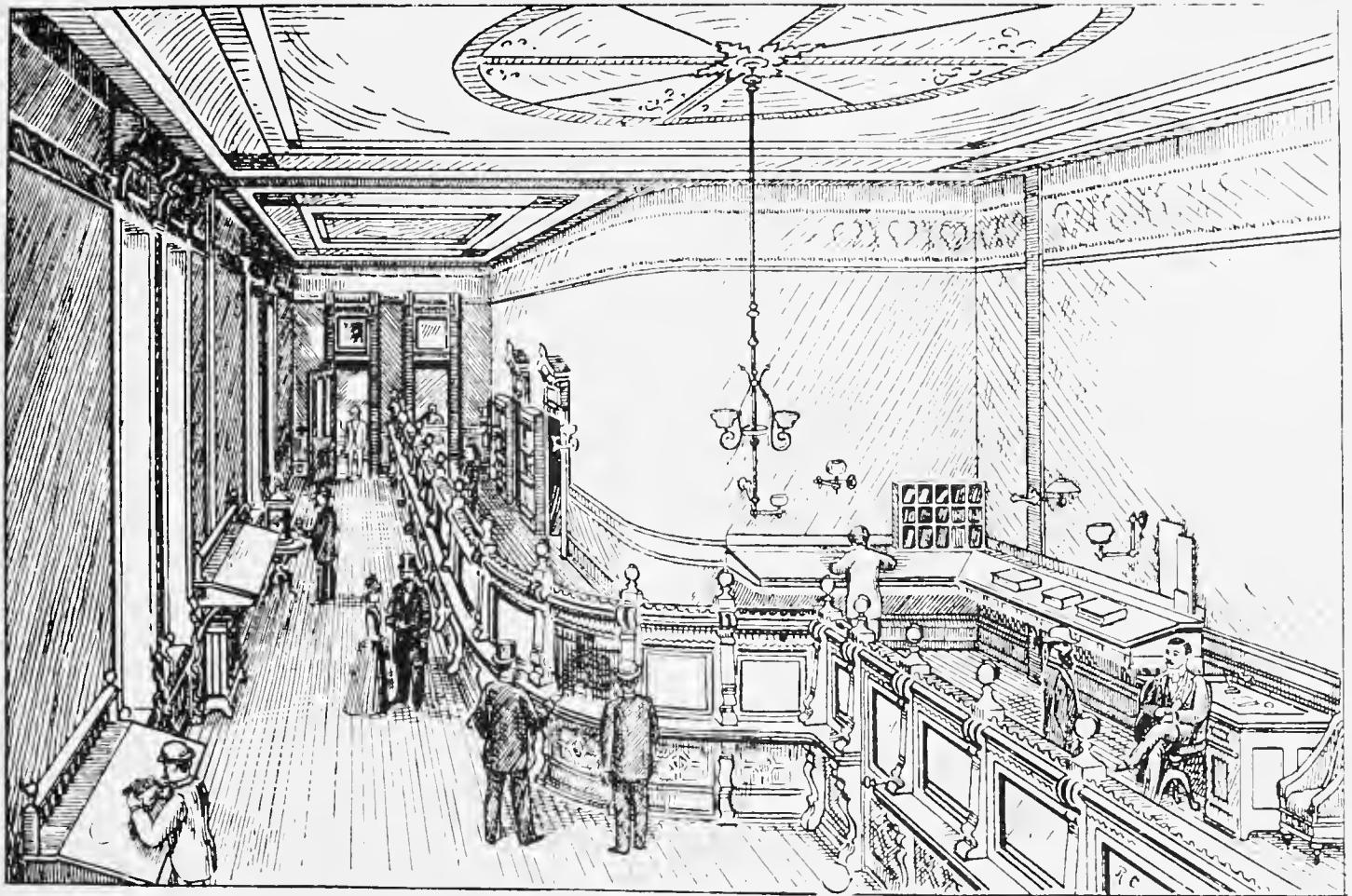
The building of "Castle Dare," as it was always to be known, likely began sometime in 1886. J. P. Julien was the architect and R. W. Bradley was the builder.<sup>31</sup> The land had originally been the property of Louise Swan Van Tassell, and while the facts regarding who actually commissioned the house to be built are cloudy, the slender evidence that exists points to her father Alexander Swan.

Swan was a prominent cattle baron, and his popular daughter Louise married R. S. Van Tassell, the well-to-do rancher, on December 9, 1886.<sup>32</sup> The news article reporting the wedding stated that the newly married couple would, ". . . reside at the handsome stone residence on the corner of Nineteenth and Ferguson streets. This handsome building was the gift of the bride's father to her."<sup>33</sup> It would become Dare's through an unusual business transaction that included payment of back taxes and the withholding of payment until the building was completed.<sup>34</sup> Swan was one of the many stockmen who suffered heavy losses in the blizzard of 1886-1887, and possibly did not have the money to pay Bradley when the building was completed. Louise may



*Della Dare*

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*Artist's conception of the interior of the Cheyenne National Bank.*

LECLERCQ JONES COLLECTION

not have wanted to press her father on the matter, so let it go for taxes. In the ensuing confusion that would eventually surround both the house and Dare, an apocryphal story grew up that Swan had bought it from Dare as a wedding present. The house may have become known as Castle Dare rather than Castle Swan, because Dare may have seen to it that the structure was finished, furnished and decorated.

Cheyenne was in the throes of a remarkable building boom in the years between 1880 and 1895, with fairy tale turrets rising to slender cones, bay windows swelling out in all conceivable shapes, and mansard roofs swooping upward to be crowned with lacy ironwork. Styles of architecture were inventive, to say the least, and the nomenclature associated with them was just as imaginative, if often incorrect.<sup>35</sup>

Dare set his mind on a royal structure, and indeed he got just that. Possibly the castle was inspired by the efforts of Erasmus Nagle who put up an imposing pile of gray stone at East 17th and House.<sup>36</sup>

The Swan-Dare house would be similar to the Nagle house in many respects. Each had the main tower to the right of the entrance and a conventional gabled roof over the front door. Nagle opted for a three-story gabled portion to the left of the front entrance, while ar-

chitect Julien put up a crenelated tower perfect for a Guinevere.

The roof of the castle was covered with ornamentally laid shingles, there was a splash or two of stained glass, and the interior was done in rich mahogany. However, even in a period in journalism when the homes of the well-to-do were described in detail, the castle seems to have escaped the scrutiny of Cheyenne newsmen. It did have the standard two parlors, a music room, a library, and three bathrooms with marble-topped sinks. At a time when a single indoor bathroom was just becoming the accepted norm in parts of the country, three must have seemed a lavish display to the local citizenry.<sup>37</sup>

Some time prior to, or perhaps during the building of the house, Dare made a trip to the south of Europe and the Holy Land. Upon his return, he was kind enough to make a talk on his travels to a large group at the Presbyterian Church. Dare and his wife could be considered to have been good Presbyterians. He once served as secretary-treasurer of the Sabbath School and Della Dare had a term as secretary of the Ladies' Sewing Circle.<sup>38</sup> The news report of the program states that Dare had been abroad for six months.<sup>39</sup>

Even though the Castle is listed in a Cheyenne city

directory as his official residence, it is a moot point as to whether or not Dare and his wife ever actually lived in the house. If they did, it wasn't for long, because by the following year, the Dares had relocated to San Diego, and severed most of their Cheyenne connections. For as long as that house stood, however, it bore Dare's name, and on the other side, the turreted Castle left a very lasting impression on Della and David.

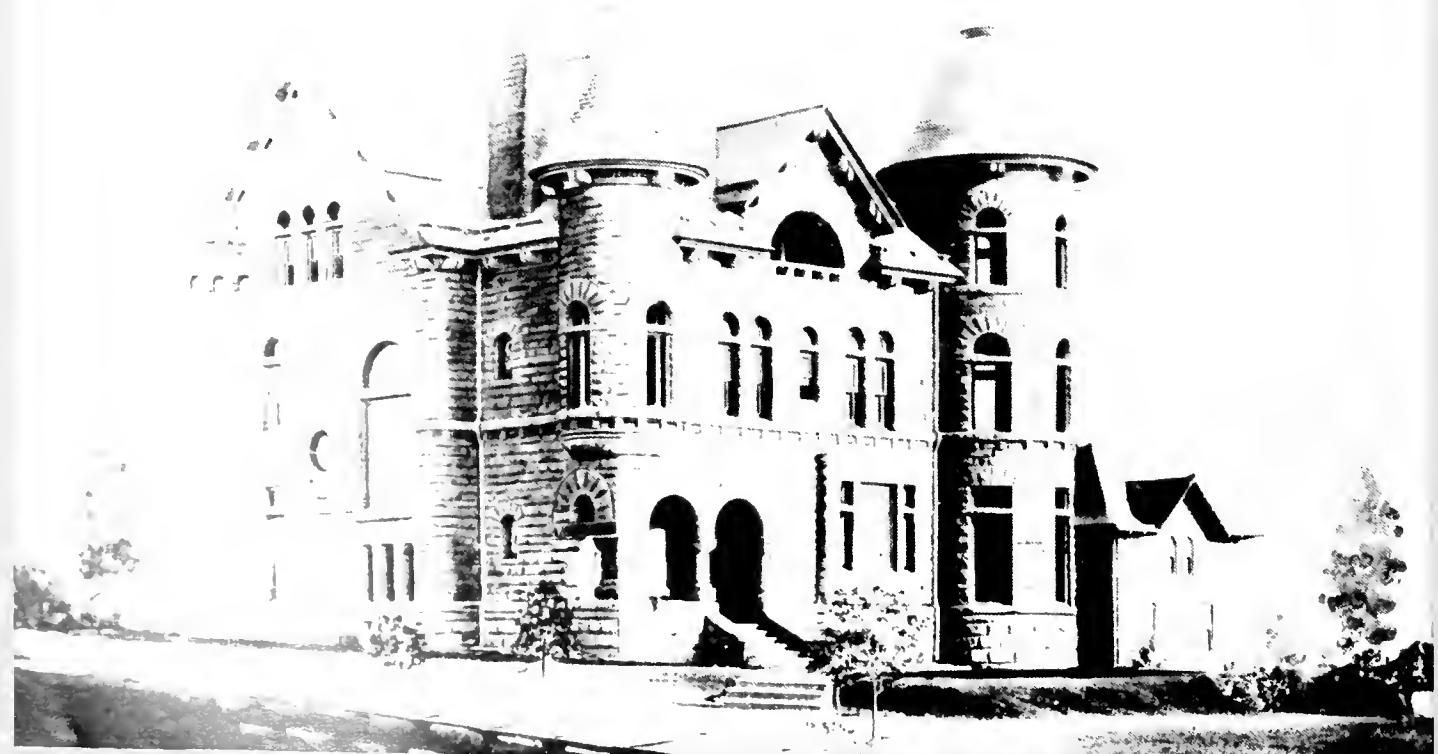
It is not known precisely when Dare made his exit from Wyoming, but he is included in the *Great Register of San Diego County* for 1888, so he may have arrived there by late 1887.<sup>40</sup> Dare and his wife resided for a time at the Hotel Brewster in San Diego, again a hostelry in keeping with his ideas of suitable accommodations. For some reason "carte de visite" type photographs were taken of their suite of rooms, and those photographs have been preserved in a private collection. The rooms were conventionally decorated for the time. Phenomenal amounts of Victorian gimcrackery filled the parlor, including a morbid looking bust of someone who looks either to be in mourning or dying. The bedroom was done in the style of Charles L. Eastlake and was a little more airy and unpretentious. Marble-topped bureaus and commodes and an enormous bed comprised the suite.<sup>41</sup> As in many Victorian rooms, there was a visual obstreperousness that brings to mind one writer's words that such habitats were, ". . . difficult rooms."

Back in Cheyenne, Dare's Castle was to change hands several times in a series of obtuse and convoluted real estate transactions. On November 16, 1889, D. D. Dare sold the Cheyenne house to an individual named Charles E. Barber of San Diego for the sum of "one dollar and other valuable considerations." A few days later, Barber then sold the house to Frances [sic] Dare (Florence Adele Dare).

On December 17, 1889, Florence and David Dare sold the Cheyenne property to Jesse Shepard, who retained ownership until March, 1891, when he sold it to W. E. High of San Diego. In November of that year, High and his wife sold the place to a man named E. J. Swayne. It continued in Swayne's hands until March, 1893, when it came under the control of Charles W. Riner in a receivership.

The house then reverted back to R. W. Bradley, the contractor who had built it, who probably had never received a nickel's payment since the foundation was laid in 1886.<sup>42</sup> In the intervening years after Dare's departure for southern California, the place had been operated as a high class boarding house and was considered a prestigious place to live or dine.<sup>43</sup>

Bradley lived in the place along with his family until his death in 1915.<sup>44</sup> After that, it changed hands again several times, and on two occasions, it housed undertaking establishments. In later years it was the



Dare's San Diego house, strikingly similar to his Cheyenne home.

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home of a fraternal organization, and in spite of pleas to save it, was razed in 1963. The lot was covered with asphalt, and utilized as a parking lot. *Sic transit*, Castle Dare.<sup>45</sup>

At the same time Dare was selling his Cheyenne house to Jesse Shepard for \$25,000, he was buying Shepard's Villa Montezuma in San Diego for \$29,000. The aforementioned W. E. High was in on the deal in some manner as well. And so, the former home of "the poet litterateur-pianist-artist of San Diego," along with its artistic treasures was transferred to D. D. Dare, now of the California Bank.<sup>46</sup>

Because he had become involved with Dare and built a house so much to Dare's liking, a few remarks about Shepard are in order. He was born in England, and when he was about a year old, his family emigrated to the United States. He sang and played the piano at an early age, and prior to settling in San Diego, he traveled widely in Europe. He had spent some time in Russia where he performed for the Czar and where he became interested in conducting seances. Much later, he gave up seances and converted to Catholicism. He left San Diego in 1889, the year Dare bought his house and went to Europe again, where he remained until the outbreak of World War I. He returned to the United States and lived quietly in Los Angeles until 1927 when he died. When he lived in San Diego, he entertained with musical evenings that included a little legerdemain to keep the guests on their toes. Some of his music was reported to have moved people to tears, and his Grand Egyptian March was a featured finale to an evening's fun. He was a flamboyant, pre-Raphaelite looking fellow with an enormous handle bar mustache and curly hair and a great many eyelashes both top and bottom.<sup>47</sup>

Shepard built the Villa Montezuma to be a mirror of his own tastes. He contributed many ideas to the builders who incorporated them with the Victorian modes then in fashion. The result is an awesome coupling of the Arabian Nights with Victorian gingerbread ornamentation—both carried to their most inventive heights. The house has an onion dome tower with Paladian windows, some Second Empire woodwork, much decorative shingle siding, quite like late Norman armor, a suggestion of half timbering at the gables, a second turret and a lot of stained glass specially designed by a firm in San Francisco. There is more ornamentation at the peak of the roof, patterned chimneys and some spindly, turned columns, so dear to the hearts of Victorians. The December 17, 1889, *San Diego Sun* said, ". . . the most ornately furnished and artistically furnished house in the city . . . itself a museum." It is now the home of the San Diego Historical Society and every year delights and amazes visitors.<sup>48</sup>

Only a little more than two months after buying Villa Montezuma, Dare was selling to an H. P. Palmerston of Spokane Falls. The sum of \$29,000 changed

hands, so either Dare was not interested in making any profit or he had simply wanted that amount of money tied up for a short period of time. Again, it cannot be stated unequivocally that Dare and his wife actually lived in the house.<sup>49</sup>

Five months later, Dare was building another castle so remarkably similar to the one he had left behind in Cheyenne that it stretches mere coincidence. Located at 5th and Juniper, it was of stone from the basement to the top of the tower and had sixteen rooms including two baths. There was a hall almost the size of a reception room, a parlor, a dining room, library, kitchen, balconies to the west and south and a large porte-cochere in the rear.<sup>50</sup> The interior was done by the San Diego Manufacturing Company and all the carving was executed by Albert P. Doull, apparently a local craftsman of some esteem.

Mantels of French mahogany in a Corinthian style with stained glass over them in lieu of conventional mirrors were a feature of the first floor. The dining room was finished in oak with cove ceilings and brackets down the four corners displaying carvings of California fauna. One bedroom was done in birdseye maple with a canopy top mantel containing five mirrors. Another bedroom was finished in oak, with bric-a-brac mantel and one mirror, and the third, in white pine and enameled in gold. The bedrooms also boasted stationary washstands built into recesses between closets into which doors opened that had broad mirror panels six and one half feet in length.<sup>51</sup>

Any house of that character would have been considered undressed without a full complement of stained glass windows, and Dare's new castle had a goodly amount, executed in various themes. One was "The Awakening of Spring," and another portrayed "Paul and Virginia." In the library were windows portraying Shakespeare, Beethoven and Rubens. On the landing between floors was Othello.<sup>52</sup> Most of the stained glass art windows of that era are esoteric and rather literal and undemanding, but just who Paul and Virginia were is a mystery. The newspaper reporter providing the descriptions takes it for granted that everyone was well acquainted with the couple.

The second castle must have been particularly dear to Della Dare, for she kept a large photograph of it until her death. On the back of an incidental snapshot taken some time in the 1920s are the words,

"My San Diego house which we built in the 'Long Ago,' no more beautiful place there today. Cor. 5th and Juniper Mr and Mrs Van Alla [sic] who took the Kodak"<sup>53</sup>

What Della Dare meant by, "no more beautiful place there today" is puzzling. She may have said that there was no other house more beautiful or that at the time she wrote on the back of the snapshot, the place was no longer standing. Inquiries directed to the San Diego

State Historical Society have been answered with, "Mr. Dare's house at 5th and Juniper is no longer standing, having been torn down years ago."<sup>54</sup>

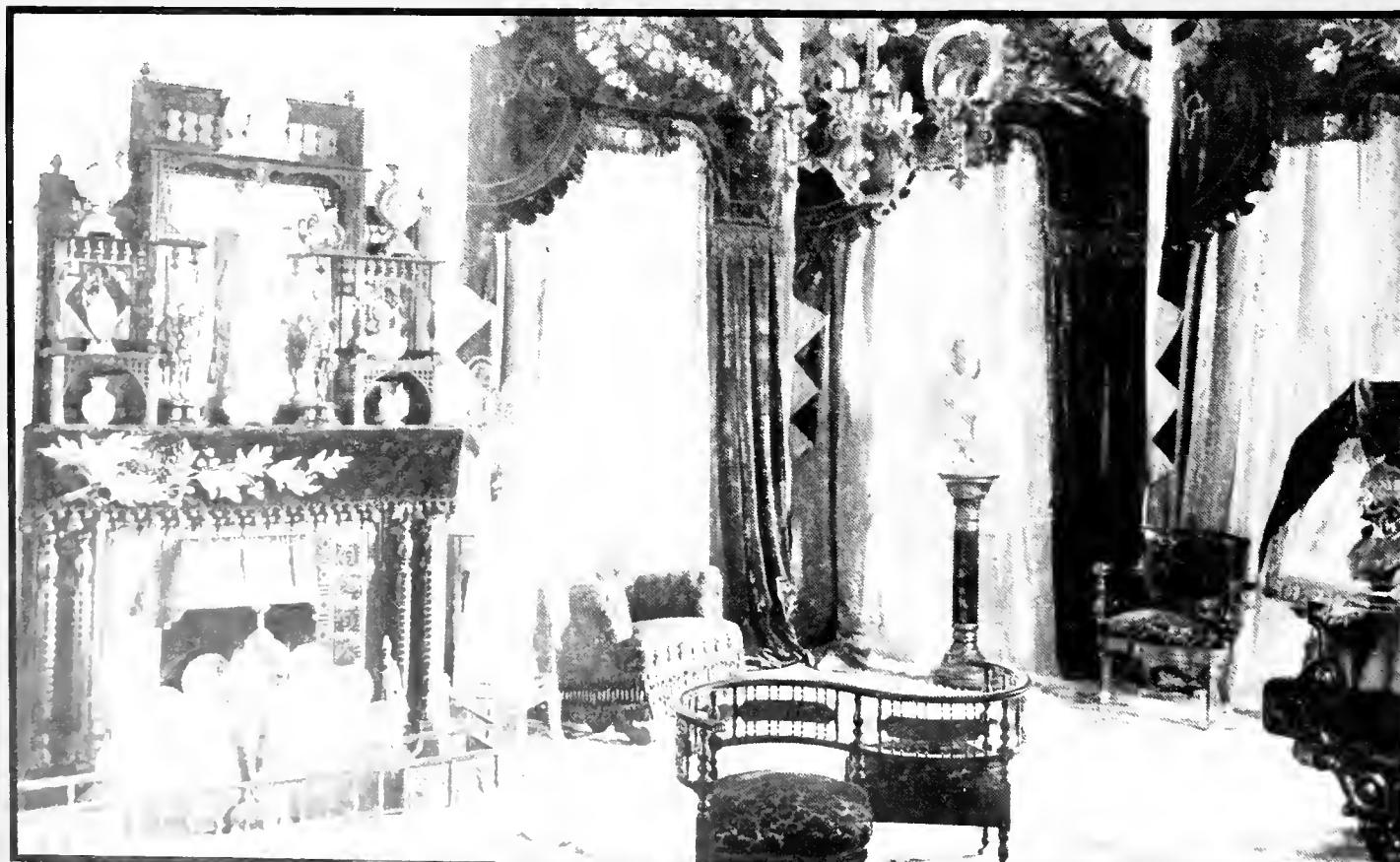
As mentioned previously, Dare at this time had gone into banking and was associated with the California National Bank along with his perennial ally, J. W. Collins. Again, one wonders what special training or experience qualified Dare to be a banker. The man had gone from postal clerk to photographer to druggist to hardware dealer in a relatively short space of time, and now he was off on a career as a banker. This is full blown ambition. At least some of these occupations required a little specialized training or on-the-job experience and Dare seems to have adopted each in turn with remarkable skill and ease.

The question of capital arises—where did Dare get the wherewithal to set himself up as a banker? In his *Memoirs*, Herbert C. Hensley asserts, ". . . that Collins had but \$15,000 and Dare \$8,000 when they arrived in San Diego. The balance of the capital needed for their new enterprise being supplied by eastern people won over by the persuasive arts of the two."<sup>55</sup> Richard Pourade in *Glory Years*, remarks that Dare, ". . . bought in with Collins for \$7,000."<sup>56</sup> The remarkable and probably optimistic pair had less than \$25,000 between them. While that sum may have been fine to open a hardware or picture frame store, it wasn't adequate to commence

banking operations even in 1889. In his memoirs, Hensley alleges that they got money from what later proved to be unsuspecting investors. He says, "Both had an uncanny knack of influencing people and in time obtained the use of considerable capital."<sup>57</sup> The possibility exists that the two men never intended the bank to be an honest, permanent institution, but only the means to their ends.

In any event, in late 1890 and early 1891 both men were going full tilt as bankers in San Diego with Collins still involved in the Cheyenne National Bank. That institution was organized January 2, 1886, and although Collins was not an original member of the staff, he was president by July, 1890.<sup>58</sup> Dare was never known to have been associated in any way with the Cheyenne bank, but he was first vice president of the California endeavor with Collins, again acting as president. A man named Havermale was second vice president. Dare and Collins were also directors, along with T. K. Gay and several others. They were listed as directors of another institution known as the California Savings Bank of San Diego, too.<sup>59</sup> By this time, Collins had moved his family to California, was living there himself, and had left day-to-day business in Cheyenne in the hands of other bank officers.

Early in 1891 Dare and his wife left for Europe, supposedly for his health. San Diego, before the turn of



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A "difficult room" in the Hotel Brewster, the Dare's home when they first arrived in San Diego. Later Collins was incarcerated in the hotel and it was there where he committed suicide.

the century, was probably one of the healthiest spots on the globe, and considering some of the infected, filthy cities Dare later lived in, the statement lacks validity.<sup>60</sup>

Precisely when David and Della left San Diego is unclear, but they did so under the pretense of traveling in the East.<sup>61</sup>

Before he left, his grand home at 5th and Juniper became the property of John H. Gay and Gay transferred 905 acres of Linda Vista Mesa land to Dare. A few days before that transaction, Dare had transferred a considerable amount of San Diego County land to his mother-in-law Mary Cronkleton. She got 105 acres of good southern California land for one dollar and other valuable considerations.<sup>62</sup> One wonders if the woman knew what was up. It appears that Dare was liquidating or encumbering all the real estate he could in an effort to cover all bases financially, insuring that he would have a little nest egg in the event of a fiscal calamity.

A photograph once the possession of Della Dare indicates that some time in 1891, they were in residence at the Alexander the Great Hotel in Athens. It was an elaborate three-storied structure, done in an eclectic combination of Tuscan and Baroque. In the picture, three windows on the second floor have an "x" beside them, possibly indicating that those were the rooms occupied by the Dares. Another photograph from that collection is a portrait of Della taken by V. Stuani of Rome. Her dress is of a style thought high fashion in 1891, but the picture is undated. It is interesting to note that she wears a pearl choker with an enormous diamond shamrock hanging from it.<sup>63</sup> Obviously the Dares were still living well and Della had some nice baubles to take her mind off the castles back home in Wyoming and California.

Affairs at the banks were normal throughout the spring and early summer of 1891. Collins traveled in the East and made stops at Cheyenne and Salt Lake City before his return to San Diego. He reported that business was more brisk in southern California than in the East.<sup>64</sup>

Five months later in November, the California National Bank closed its doors and shortly after that, the Cheyenne bank followed suit. The initial cause of the failure of the California institution was a sight draft for \$10,000 which could not be met. After that, the mayor of San Diego began to have doubts about the state of affairs and tried to withdraw \$45,000 in city funds from the bank. He had no success. Somebody remembered that \$52,000 in county money had been on deposit at that bank too. It wasn't there when a withdrawal was attempted.

A bank statement dated September 30, 1891, had shown assets of \$1,570,722 with over \$135,000 on hand to meet sight demands of individual depositors, who had a total of \$865,350.14 deposited in their accounts. A

bank examiner was sent for and he found \$200,000 unaccounted for. It was never found.

The failure of the bank had an effect on several businesses in the area including a streetcar line and an opera house and it finished off the big mercantile firm of Havermale and Rossier. Taking into account that Havermale was one of the bank directors, the failure must have been a particularly brutal surprise to him.<sup>65</sup>

In Cheyenne, a newspaper article dated November 13, 1891, reported the closing of the California bank, but no mention of its connection with the Cheyenne National was made.<sup>66</sup> The axe fell the following day when bold headlines told that J. W. Collins had failed in California and that the home institution was being carried down with the West Coast concern.

George W. Beard, a Pennsylvanian whose father and brother were bank cashiers, had been brought to Cheyenne by Collins to work in the Morton E. Post bank. Beard left Post and joined the staff of the Cheyenne National Bank shortly after it was founded.

On Thursday, November 12, Beard received a wire from Collins announcing the suspension of the California bank. The cashier reacted quickly and immediately contacted the officers of the other Cheyenne banks for consultation. A committee of those men was formed to examine the books of the Cheyenne National Bank. They found that there was \$395,000 in loans outstanding, \$35,000 cash on hand and \$45,000 said to be on deposit in Eastern banks. The amount due to depositors and other banks was \$318,000, which left a balance in favor of Collins' bank of \$157,000. Supposedly, there was another \$87,000 in securities of some sort in the bank's favor.<sup>67</sup>

The next day, Friday, November 13, the bank opened at 10 a.m. and depositors made a rush to withdraw their funds. The first drew out \$1,000; the next \$3,500, and a third plucked out the tidy sum of \$13,000. Since the cash on hand at the bank was only \$35,000 it evaporated immediately. It seems evident that some of the larger depositors had associated the failure of Collins' California bank with the Cheyenne bank and were responsible for the run. By 11 a.m. a sign had been posted in the window of the bank that stated, "Temporary suspension on account of insufficient funds to meet checks, caused by the run."<sup>68</sup>

It was the general opinion around town that approximately \$283,000 was on deposit at that time and in spite of the stampede on the part of many people to retrieve their funds, the local newspaper said, "... no one seemed to have any fears that the depositors would realize every cent of their deposits."<sup>69</sup> If the major account holders had no fears, pulling out large sums of money from the bank was a peculiar display of confidence.

It is interesting to note that in the first days after the failure, the *Cheyenne Daily Leader* remained consis-

tently optimistic about the bank's future and was perfectly satisfied that worries were groundless. It was lavish in its praise of George Beard, the young cashier of the bank. Among the many compliments thrown his way by the *Leader* was:

Mr. Beard, although a young man to occupy such a responsible position had the respect and esteem of everybody in this community. His skill in conducting the affairs of the institution was everywhere recognized and under his management the bank had rapidly grown to prominence and popularity.<sup>70</sup>

When the bank had closed its doors after only one hour's operation on the 13th, a bank examiner from Omaha was sent for. On Saturday, Beard spent the entire day at the bank explaining the situation as best he could and providing what assurances he felt were warranted. Through both Friday and Saturday, he received expressions of sympathy and indications of confidence in his personal integrity, but it was thought by some close friends that he had not the solvency for personal expenses. T. B. Hicks of the First National Bank questioned him on the matter and Beard was able to produce only two dollars pocket money and remarked that these were the sole extent of his possessions. Hicks offered money from his own bank should he need it.

Other offers of help included one from a servant girl whom Beard had once assisted when she bought 160 acres of land in Nebraska. She had heard of his difficulties and offered him the deed to her land if it would be any good to him.

On Sunday morning, the 15th, bank examiner J. G. Griffiths arrived from Omaha and was with Beard at the bank for some time. Later they met again at the bank in the presence of Beard's attorney, A. C. Campbell. Certain legal papers were drawn up for filing. Griffiths had to convince Beard that the papers were a necessary legal step.

Later the men dined at the Cheyenne Club and after that, the bank examiner left for evening church services. Later that evening the men met at the bank for a short time and then returned to the Cheyenne Club. Beard was said to have been somewhat the worse for wear and did not engage in spirited conversation as was his nature.

Shortly before 10 p.m. Beard bid the bank examiner good night and left for his rooms in the company of a friend named John Harrington. He seemed to be in good enough spirits at that time and according to Harrington, the bank suspension was only alluded to once. Beard expressed his confidence in the Omaha man and said that his arrival had taken a load off his shoulders. Beard resided in rooms over the T. A. Kent bank, and it was at the foot of the stairs leading to his apartment that he and Harrington said good night.<sup>71</sup> The two young men had been friends for some time, and both had been in the wedding party when R. S. Van Tassell and Louise Swan had married in December, 1886.<sup>72</sup>

According to newspaper reports, Beard was to have met his attorney, Campbell, at the bank the following morning at 9 a.m., but when Campbell arrived he found that Beard had not yet appeared. He checked at the Cheyenne Club but learned Beard had not breakfasted there, which apparently was his regular habit. He grew alarmed and quickly returned to the bank. He met Otto Snyder and J. M. Jillich there, and sent Snyder back to the Club for another try at locating Beard, while he and Jillich hurried to Beard's rooms. What Snyder and Jillich's relationship was to either the bank or Beard is not clear.

At Beard's apartment, the men met with no response when they knocked. Campbell hoisted Jillich up so that he could peer through the transom of the door. Jillich pointed out that he could see some of Beard's clothing, but reported no activity. By this time Snyder had returned with word that Beard still hadn't been seen at the Club. The three men suspected the worst, and Campbell broke out a panel of the door and unlocked it. When they went in, they turned over a large chair that had been used to brace the door shut. They found themselves in the sitting room of the small suite where things were very much in order; however, upon entering the bedroom, they found Beard's body.

The *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, which had been so effusive in praise of Beard, now pulled out all the journalistic stops and in the best late Victorian tradition described in great detail the scene of the suicide. What the man wore, the fact that one foot had a slipper and one didn't, the placement of the hands, the angle of the head and the amount of blood were all included in the coverage. They commented on the size of the bullet hole, the calibre of the weapon, the temperature of the body, and the remarkable absence of rigor mortis.<sup>73</sup>

The horrified trio sent for the town marshall, Doctor W. W. Crook and Coroner Tuttle, and before Beard's remains were taken to Turnbull's undertaking parlors, it was ascertained that he had shot himself in the right temple and that death was instantaneous. After embalming, the body was taken to the home of E. S. N. Morgan where it remained, pending word from Beard's father in the East, who sent for the body immediately when he was informed of the tragic event.

Prior to his suicide, Beard made no attempt to destroy any personal papers, an act the Cheyenne newsmen presumed was a necessary prelude to the taking of one's life. The paper also registered some disappointment that a detailed and emotional suicide note had not been left by the deceased. The paper did raise the question that,

If the bank is perfectly solvent and an investigation will demonstrate it, why should Beard feel the necessity of taking his own life? In this question is contained an element of suspicion which is suggestive rather than outspoken.<sup>74</sup>

That Beard had lost a considerable amount of money later became apparent. At the time he and Campbell were conferring on the destiny of the bank, Beard was discovered to have endorsed a personal loan in the amount of \$25,000 for Collins without a shred of collateral. Since Collins' affairs in California were in shambles, Beard must have realized that the Cheyenne bank would never get that or any other money from Collins. The indication is that Beard was not dishonest, but only remiss and naive in his attitudes toward his employer. When Campbell and Beard were trying to sort out things, Campbell had Beard assign him \$30,000 of his personal worth as security for the depositors. Because he had Collins' power of attorney in Wyoming, Beard assigned some ranch lands owned by Collins to the bank as additional security.<sup>75</sup>

After the events of November, 1891, it was revealed that Beard had become disenchanted with the manner in which Collins conducted business and that he had tendered his resignation on two occasions. Collins did not acknowledge either of the communications and because he felt some sense of responsibility not only to the depositors of the bank, but to the bank's other employees and to the other banks in Cheyenne, Beard remained at his post, the virtual head of the bank. It was his belief that there were adequate funds in the California National Bank and other eastern institutions to cover extensive withdrawals at the Cheyenne Bank. When he was informed that the worth of the stock of the California National Bank had been discounted twice, he was fully apprised of the fact that the entire Dare and Collins empire had been nothing more than a house of cards with very limited capital. He saw himself financially ruined and his name besmirched in the banking community of the West. In spite of Griffiths' offer to do what he could to find him another position, Beard saw no way out but in suicide.

The town of Cheyenne was almost universally sympathetic to Beard's circumstances and eventual fate. He was popular in Cheyenne, well thought of and well remembered.<sup>76</sup> The editorial opinion of the day, and the general thinking of the Cheyenne public was that George Beard had been the victim of the financial manipulations of Dare and Collins.

Collins was almost certainly made aware of the suicide shortly after it occurred, but no response from him is recorded in the Cheyenne newspapers.

Meanwhile, the California bank was sinking fast and taking Collins with it. A bank examiner had been sent for, and Collins officially withheld comment, awaiting the report of that individual's findings. On November 14, Examiner Chamberlain and George V. Sims of the Lombard Trust in London inspected the books. Sims had been sent to the southern California town by his employer to look for investments and he remarked:

if the bank examiners would allow him to do so, he would bring in money from New York and London to reestablish the bank on an even sounder basis.<sup>77</sup>

If circumstances and the law would have allowed Sims to invest in the bank, he would have been Collins' savior. As it was, by December, 1891, the game was up and the bank was thrown into a receivership. F. N. Pauley of Los Angeles was named receiver.

Collins was charged with embezzling \$200,000 and was incarcerated at the Brewster Hotel under the surveillance of a United States marshal. Why the county jail was overlooked as a lodging place for Collins is a mystery. Bond had been fixed at \$50,000, but Collins was unable to raise it, and the former business associates either didn't have the cash on hand or were reluctant to throw good money after bad. Dare certainly wasn't around to help out a friend in need, and since he had left for Europe in virtually the nick of time, it may have been assumed that Collins would follow.<sup>78</sup>

On March 3, after a comfortable confinement in the luxurious Brewster, Collins was told that he would have to expect to go to jail in Los Angeles unless he could produce the \$50,000 bail money. He again asked

WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES AND HISTORICAL LIBRARY



George L. Beard, cashier

acquaintances for money with no success. The previous Wednesday, he had become despondent and lamented to a friend who had come to call:

It is of no use. I cannot stand it. The very men whom I have helped time and again have refused to do anything for me. I cannot go to jail. I feel that the people of San Diego owe it to me after all I have done to help them and the city, to furnish me with this bail. I am entirely innocent of this dreadful charge of embezzlement but the worst of it all is to have men whom I helped to go back on me in this extremity. What have I to live for? . . . My property is all gone, my friends are gone, my prospects utterly ruined. I am hounded to death and may as well die.<sup>79</sup>

Few have been so eloquent in their self pity.

On March 3, Collins appeared to be particularly downcast and low. He lunched with Attorney General Hart who had been sent from Washington, D.C. to investigate the bank's situation and General Eli H. Murray. He was able to chat attentively in spite of his depression and after the meal, he returned to his rooms to pack for the trip to Los Angeles. Earlier, he had requested permission from the U.S. Marshal to have his stay in San Diego extended a few days so that he could make a last attempt to raise the bail. At the very moment when the U.S. Marshal was exercising some leniency toward Collins' request, the banker

. . . asked permission of the deputy marshal who guarded him to step into the bathroom. In about a minute a pistol shot was heard. Just then Mr. Collins' attorney, Judge Wilson came in. Both he and the deputy entered the bathroom and found Collins prostrate with blood gushing from his mouth. A physician was summoned but could do no good.<sup>80</sup>

While some sympathy was directed toward Collins, his suicide was looked upon as an admission of guilt. At the time of his death, it was thought that the bank had in excess of a million dollars in liabilities, and many San Diegans had been ruined.

The suicide was discussed everywhere in hushed voices, selfish ambition, errors of judgment, and bitter enemies made by their losses. Some former friends who had been urged to join in furnishing bond, now felt badly. The general sympathy which had gone out to Collins ever since the tragic sinking of the yacht "Petrel," in which his entire family—wife and two young children—met death by drowning, went far toward tempering the widespread animus, and influenced many to bury their resentment with him in the grave of the dead financier.<sup>81</sup>

The Cheyenne newspaper by turns praised the man and then heaped opprobrium on him. In the very column which follows the account of his suicide, the *Leader* said,

Whatever may be said of him Collins was a very strange man. He found no recreation or delight in the usual ways or associations of men in the prime of life. He neither smoked nor drank. For the theatre he cared absolutely nothing, and during his eight or nine years residence in Cheyenne he was probably never within the doors of the opera house.<sup>82</sup>

Apparently, to the *Leader* writer, not going to the Opera House was one of Collins most objectionable failings. He added:

He was gifted with a good deal of tact and was a close student of human nature . . . One of his most remarkable qualities was the ability with which he recouped himself after making a bad deal . . . the way he would finesse and twist and turn to get himself out in good shape was little less than marvelous.<sup>83</sup>

Unfortunately, Collins didn't manage to "twist and turn and get himself out in good shape" in his last and grandest adventure. One wonders if the writer meant those remarks sincerely, or if they were intended to be ironic.

*The Leader*, published two days later, provided a sanctimonious and self-righteous summing up of Collins' activities and volunteered some remarks to the effect that

A quarter of a century of money grubbing, financial scheming and total indifference to what are ordinarily considered life's pleasures . . . the tireless pursuit of wealth . . . [can lead] to Death and only death.<sup>84</sup>

It can be assumed that ambition and success were greatly admired, but money grubbing and financial scheming were disdained. But, where did one draw the line between the two? Many clever fellows had dealt more dishonestly than Collins while building their fortunes, but were never caught. History points with pride to the success of their endeavors. Collins was careless, had a poor sense of timing, got caught, and received the ultimate castigation—hard words from the editor of the *Leader*.

After Collins' death, stories were circulated about a falling out he had had with Morton E. Post concerning Post's alleged promise to take him into partnership at that bank. Collins purportedly set out to ruin Post, but no information has been found to confirm the story. Whatever the case, Post and Collins were never friendly after their separation.<sup>85</sup>

Collins to some degree vindicated himself after his death. Some time prior to the suspension, he named the bank as beneficiary of his \$65,000 life insurance policy, and while that was only about a third of the \$200,000 that was never accounted for, it is probable that those with capital invested in his bank were happy to see even that.<sup>86</sup>

David Dare's part in the whole business was easily as great as that of Collins. According to the *San Diego Union*, "A federal investigation indicated that the bank's two organizers, . . . had systematically looted the bank."<sup>87</sup> A little over a year after Collins' suicide, a San Diego newspaper reported that Dare had been instrumental in, ". . . wrecking the California National Bank . . ."<sup>88</sup> and that he got away with about \$50,000. A later issue stated that he was, ". . . criminally responsible for its failure."

Dare's activities and later careers were certainly not dull.

. . . he never returned to San Diego. Diligent attempts were made to lay hands on him, but though several times located, he always kept one jump ahead of extradition proceedings. He was first heard of in Rome. Later, a San Diegan traveling in the eastern Mediterranean, unexpectedly ran across him in

Athens. He was in the rug business there and doing quite well. He denied being a fugitive from justice, repeating that he had had to leave San Diego on account of its climate which did not agree with what ailed him; and he expected to remain there.<sup>89</sup>

Never one to let any grass grow under his feet, Dare moved around.

[I]n the course of time, he was located in Jerusalem, where it was reported he was connected with the project of a railroad to run from the Holy City to Jerico. [sic] Evidently extradition couldn't be arranged from that quarter. There was also a still later story that the elusive Mr. Dare was seen in Alexandria or maybe it was Cairo, Egypt, apparently well settled and carrying on some business as to the nature of which I am ignorant. He wore a full beard and had changed his name.<sup>90</sup>

If J. W. Collins' suicide was interpreted as an admission of guilt Dare's flight to Europe and failure to return to California to exonerate himself was more of the same. Dare's arguments that he left San Diego for reasons of health evaporated when it was learned that he was living in Alexandria, Cairo, Constantinople, and the then highly unsanitary Athens.<sup>91</sup> In the last twenty years before the First World War, Europe was on a gigantic pleasure binge, and such places as London, Paris, Vienna and Berlin likely would have been more suitable to the lifestyle Dare customarily followed. If D. D. Dare had been blameless it is unlikely that he would have chosen to live in areas from which he could not have been extradited.

There is a possibility that when the bank went down and Collins was in such straits he contacted Dare either for assistance or to warn him to steer clear of the continental United States. Had Dare not been involved with the "looting" of the California National, he likely would have rushed to his comrade's side and done all he could to extricate him from the unfortunate situation.

Because he was ambitious, because he was adaptable, and certainly because he had to feed himself, Dare followed several professions while abroad. He is said to have painted signs and portraits in between the times he built railroads and street railway systems.<sup>92</sup> He ended his days running the rug business in Athens, and it is thought that when he died he was buried there. The date and circumstances concerning his death are not known, but he had discarded his aliases and was once again David D. Dare.<sup>93</sup>

His wife Della remained in Europe as late as 1894. She applied for and was granted a visa to travel freely throughout Rumania. The document is in her name only, and there is nothing to indicate that her husband was with her. At the time she applied for the visa she had lied about her age and peeled off six years.<sup>94</sup>

Sometime between that date and 1901, she left Europe and returned to the United States. Her subsequent actions indicate that she and Dare were formally divorced somewhere along the way.

Upon her return, she resided in Telluride, Colorado, with her parents. In the period from 1900 to

1901, she served as San Miguel County School Superintendent, and in later years, she recalled visiting the various rural schools on horseback.<sup>95</sup>

In 1902, she married Otto Brandes of Telluride at Neosho, Missouri. How the two of them got that far away from home to marry is not accounted for, but by this time, Della was well accustomed to unorthodox adventures in distant places. Brandes was a banker, and they lived for a time in a comfortable bungalow in Denver.<sup>96</sup>

That Della Dare Brandes would be curious about her former husband is understandable. In 1926, she corresponded with Edward Capps who was with the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, making inquiries about Dare's financial status. Capps' reply, written on board a ship named the *Conte Rosso* is interesting enough and pertinent enough to quote in its entirety:

Dear Mrs. Brandes.

Your letter of March 9th reached me in Athens just about the time we were leaving for home. I was able to make some inquiries about the property Mr. Dare left at his death, and although nobody seemed to know the exact facts, it was the general belief that he left rather little - a house and the goods in his rug store. In the years he spent in business in Athens he could easily have accumulated that much, it seems to me, so that one does not have to assume that he was the wrongful holder of some of the bank's property. He was dead when I served at the U.S. Minister, in 1920-1921, and the matter did not come to my notice at all then. Mrs. Capps sends you her kind regards along with mine. We had a very pleasant, though brief stay in Greece.

Sincerely yours,  
Edward Capps<sup>97</sup>

The brief correspondence is telling and its tone is tantalizing. A copy of the letter from Della to Capps apparently does not survive, but one can well imagine that when she wrote him, she revealed a lot of what she knew. The letter indicates that she knew her husband had been suspected of embezzling the California bank. She was aware that he was dead and that prior to his death he was a rug dealer.

On the other hand, the letter brings up as many questions as it answers. How long Della had known of her first husband's dishonest involvement with the bank is not apparent. It is not clear how she knew of the rug business or how she had been made aware of his death either. It should be noted, however, that in spite of other stories to the contrary, by the time of his death, Dare was functioning under his own name, or at least, the first name he ever was known to have used, and was buried under that name. Della may have done some investigating on her own, or Dare may have left specific instructions to the effect that his former wife be notified when he died. Her interest in the amount of his estate is understandable, as possibly she hoped to use that to make restitution to the surviving investors of the California bank. The final question is who was the original source of the information that Capps passed along to Della in his letter?

Capps' letter is not a complete exoneration of Dare, although he does defend him. It certainly isn't the complete affirmation of his guilt that Della may have been seeking. More than thirty years after their hasty trip to Europe, she either wanted proof that her former husband was a thief and a blackguard or that his involvement had not been as great as was thought. She wrote to Capps about a man who had built her two castles, bought her a sultan's pavilion, and had thought such gifts as peacock feather fans and one hundred dollar music boxes part of life's necessities. No matter what he is, a woman doesn't ordinarily scorn the name of a man who builds her castles. As to their divorce, it could have been caused by circumstances other than the California bank affair.

Otto Brandes died New Year's Eve, 1928, and was buried in the Lone Tree Cemetery in Telluride.

Five years later in May, 1933, Della married a third and final time. His name was George A. Stow, but nothing else is known about him. At the time, his bride was seventy-six. Stow died, but there is no record of his death date or burial place. He is not buried in the Cronkleton family plot alongside the graves of Mary and Seth and Otto Brandes.<sup>98</sup>

In the 1940s, Della became too old to care for herself, and called upon her step-daughter, the child of Otto Brandes to assist her. She, along with a young neighbor drove from Marine, Illinois to Telluride to get Della. The neighbor was interested in Mrs. Stow and a friendship developed. Della could remember little of the "old days" at that time, but she shared an intriguing collection of old photographs and papers with her new neighbor, Linnette Kolm Maedge.

Mrs. Maedge remembered that on one occasion, several packing crates arrived from Telluride with some of Della's possessions in them. There were beautiful parasols, fans, some elegant statuary, and some large tapestries. Mrs. Maedge was not sure from what time in the older woman's life they had come, but did recall that everything was of good quality.

The tired and confused old lady died in July, 1948, and was cremated. Her ashes were taken to Telluride and buried in the family plot beside the remains of her parents and second husband Otto. Eastern Star services were held for Della and Mrs. Maedge sang two selections.<sup>99</sup>

And so, the last player in the extraordinary drama that had begun nearly seventy years earlier, passed from the scene, taking with her the secrets of David D. Dare and his dreams. Her life with the man who had begun his career as a respected postal clerk in territorial Wyoming and who had ended his days peddling rugs in Athens had been filled with excitement, adventure, scandal and disappointment. But, too, there had to have been the times of love and laughter. The pair had been swept along by circumstances in an era that was

noted for its enthusiasm and exuberance. They were decades that fostered the grandest of ambitions and encouraged large and glittering dreams. Those years both gave and took much from men, and it was a time in which an ambitious, dreaming man found it difficult to live cautiously or slowly. Ambition could give way to scheming, and the dreams could make men take imprudent and careless chances. The American West in the 1880s and the 1890s nourished a highly charged atmosphere in which nothing was too grand to Dare.

1. Hensley, Herbert C., *The Memoirs of Herbert C. Hensley*, 5 Vol., unpublished, San Diego State Historical Society Library, 1952, p.680.
2. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, March 7, 1876, p.3.
3. *Cheyenne Sun*, March 8, 1867, p.4.
4. Hensley MSS., p.670.
5. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, November 17, 1876, p.3.
6. Thompson, John Charles, "In Old Wyoming," *Wyoming State Tribune*, January 19, 1947, p.1.
7. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, October 19, 1879, p.3.
8. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, October 24, 1879, p.3.
9. *First Marriage Records of Laramie County at the Court House, Cheyenne, Wyoming*, copied and compiled by the Cheyenne chapters of the Daughters of the American Colonies, and the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Cheyenne Genealogical Society, Volume 3, n.d., typed.
10. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, April 22, 1880, p.3.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Morris, William, ed., *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1969) p. 890.
13. *Cheyenne Weekly Leader*, December 22, 1881, p.13.
14. Charles Riner sold coal, fuel, insurance and Smith Brothers office equipment. Leopold Kabis, brother-in-law of Warren Richardson, was a barkeeper and sold steamship tickets. Harry P. Hynds was a blacksmith-turned-barkeeper-turned-real estate entrepreneur. Francis E. Warren was involved in ranching and in general merchandising, with undertaking facilities in his emporium. *Cheyenne City Directories*, 1884-1885, 1886-1887, 1892, 1913-1914.
15. *San Diego Union*, June 26, 1894, p.5.
16. *Cheyenne Weekly Leader*, December 22, 1881, p.13.
17. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, December 20, 1882, p.1.
18. *Wyoming State Tribune*, August 23, 1926, p.1.
19. *Cheyenne Weekly Leader*, December 20, 1882, p.1.
20. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, February 4, 1882, p.3.
21. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, February 4, 1882, p.3.
22. *Cheyenne Sun*, December 13, 1882, p.4.
23. *Cheyenne Sun*, December 14, 1882, p.1.
24. *Cheyenne Sun*, December 21, 1882, p.4.
25. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, September 30, 1883, p.4.
26. *San Antonio City Directory*, 1883-1884, n.d., n.p.
27. Johnson, A. R., compiler, *1884-1885 Residence and Business Directory of Cheyenne*, (Cheyenne: Leader Printing, 1884-1885).
28. Laramie County Historical Society, *Early Cheyenne Homes 1880-1890*, (Cheyenne: Pioneer Printing, 1964) p.34.
29. Polk, R. L., *Cheyenne City Directory 1928*, (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk, 1928).
30. Fitch, Luther, and Smith, James, *A Directory of Laramie and Albany Counties*, (San Francisco: U. S. Directory Publishing, 1886).

31. *Wyoming State Tribune*, May 14, 1930. Julien became best known in 1902 as the designer of the Tom Horn gallows.
32. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, December 10, 1886, p.4.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Laramie County Assessor's Records, 1886-1887.
35. Italian Villa was used to construct I. C. Whipple's home. Max Idleman's mansion just up the street from Dare's was primarily of French Chateau, with a Tuscan arch thrown in for fun. R. S. Van Tassell's home was done in a modified "Shingle" style popularized in the Cheyenne area by architect-rancher George D. Rainsford. The Col. A. T. Babbit home in the 700 block of East 17th Street was Queen Anne style, but it is highly unlikely that the good queen would have recognized its architectural features as being from her reign. *Early Cheyenne Homes*, pp.12, 18, 42, 43, 44, 56, 57, 61.
36. Nagle had gotten a great buy on some building stone rejected by the contractors who were doing the territorial capitol, and erected a three-story house in a combination of styles that still stands. The capitol contractors were justified in their estimation of the blocks, because over the years they scaled and chipped away to the extent that covering the exterior surface of the house with concrete became necessary.
37. *Early Cheyenne Homes*, p.30-31.
38. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, December 31, 1878, and April 22, 1880, p.3.
39. *Cheyenne Sun*, April 17, 1887, p.3.
40. Letter from Charles W. Hughes, San Diego Historical Society to Ellen Glover, dated June 28, 1978.
41. Maedge collection, property of Mrs. Burnell (Linnette) Maedge, Marine, Illinois.
42. Index to Deeds: Direct and Indirect, 1884 through May, 1922. Laramie County Clerks' Records. Recorded Deeds, 1889-1893.
43. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, November 13, 1891, p.4.
44. *Wyoming State Tribune*, February 8, 1915, p.1-2.
45. *Wyoming State Tribune*, January 21, 1963, p.9.
46. *San Diego Union*, December 18, 1889.
47. Pourade, Richard, *The Glory Years*, (San Diego: San Diego Union Publishing Co., 1964) p.198 and, San Diego State Historical Society brochure, *Villa Montezuma*, n.p., n.d.
48. San Diego State Historical Society brochure, *Ibid*
49. *San Diego Union*, February 28, 1890, p.8.
50. *San Diego Union*, July 11, 1890, p.8.
51. *San Diego Union*, June 28, 1890, p.8.
52. *San Diego Union*, July 11, 1890, p.8.
53. Maedge Collection, snapshot.
54. Letter from Charles W. Hughes, San Diego Historical Society to Mrs. Burnell Maedge, dated March 21, 1978.
55. Hensley, *Memoirs*, p.680.
56. Pourade, *Glory Years*, p.225.
57. Hensley, *Memoirs*, *op cit*
58. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, July, 1890, Part III, p.4.
59. *San Diego Union*, February 7, 1891, p.3.
60. Pourade, *Glory Years*, *Ibid*
61. Recorder's Form of Grant Deed, San Diego Abstract Co., February 5, 1891 and *San Diego Union*, February 5, 1891, p.5.
62. *San Diego Union*, February 5, 1891, *Ibid*
63. Maedge Collection.
64. *San Diego Union*, June 26, 1891.
65. Hensley, *Memoirs*, p.675-676.
66. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, November 13, 1891, p.1.
67. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, November 14, 1891, p.3.
68. *Ibid*
69. *Ibid*
70. *Ibid*.
71. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, November 17, 1891, p.3.
72. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, December 10, 1886, p.4.
73. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, November 17, 1891, p.3.
74. *Ibid*
75. *Ibid*
76. "The growth of the bank at that time due almost entirely to the energy and business tact and unimpeachable integrity of Mr. Beard, has been remarkable. He was an extremely circumspect man for his years and the hold which he had on the public confidence was manifested in a remarkable manner when the bank suspended." *Ibid*
77. *Ibid*
78. Hensley *Memoirs*, p.677.
79. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, March 4, 1892, pp.1-2.
80. *Ibid*
81. Hensley, *Memoirs*, p. 679.
82. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, March 4, 1892, pp 1-2.
83. *Ibid*
84. *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, March 6, 1892, p.3.
85. *Ibid*
86. Hensley, *Memoirs*, p.681
87. *San Diego Union*, November 10, 1893, p.5.
88. *San Diego Union*, June 26, 1894, n.p.
89. Hensley, *Memoirs*, p.680.
90. *Ibid*
91. *San Diego Union*, October 8, 1900, p.5.
92. *San Diego Union*, June 26, 1894, n.p.
93. Maedge Collection, letter from Edward Capps to Adele D. Brandes, May 22, 1926.
94. Maedge Collection, visa issued by the United States Legation, Bucharest, Rumania, June 16, 1894.
95. Maedge Collection, letter from Irene Visintin, Secretary Treasurer, Lone Tree Cemetery, Telluride, Colorado, April 18, 1978
96. Maedge Collection, letter from Irene Visintin, Secretary Treasurer, Lone Tree Cemetery, Telluride, Colorado, April 5, 1978.
97. *Ibid*
98. *Ibid*
99. Maedge Collection, *Telluride Tribune*, July 22, 1948, n.p.

# Teaching School at Old Fort Laramie

By  
Maria Inez Corlett Riter

"The Crusade to Save Fort Laramie," by Merrill J. Mattes, published in the Spring, 1978, issue of *Annals of Wyoming*, prompted Lesley Day Woodruff Riter (Mrs. Franklin), of Salt Lake City, to send us the following story from her personal collection of family history.

The brief story of her mother-in-law, Maria Corlett Riter, is an interesting insight into the experience of a young Eastern girl who spent a few months at old Fort Laramie. It becomes more interesting when the reader is aware of Mrs. Franklin Riter's ties to early Wyoming through her own family as well as that of her husband.

In a recent letter to *Annals* she wrote: "Wyoming is a story book state to me. I was fortunate to often be there with my father [Dr. Edward Day Woodruff] and 'Uncle Dwight' [J. D. Woodruff] and to meet, and hear the stories and experiences of, many old timers. Even though young, I had sense enough to, then and there, put down many notes." The story of Maria Riter is the result of some of that note taking. Mrs. Riter also wrote detailed stories of her father and uncle, much of them in their own words. These were published in *Annals of Wyoming* in 1926 and 1931.

Dr. Woodruff came to Wyoming from Ohio in 1880 and was the first doctor in Rock Springs. He practiced medicine and surgery

Mine was a gay and happy home—a home presided over by the social grace of my attractive sister-in-law Minerva and warmed by the legal, civil and political life of my older brother William Wellington Corlett. We lived in Cheyenne, Wyoming, the capital city.

Reverend J. Y. Cowhick, a Presbyterian minister, active in this area, was a frequent visitor in our home. He was head of the school board for the Cheyenne district. During the gold rush to the Black Hills, Reverend Cowhick raised money in Cheyenne, bought a lot of bibles which he personally took to "the Hills" by stagecoach and distributed to the prospectors and miners.

Against Minerva's wishes, I accepted a winter's teaching position at Fort Laramie. Reverend Cowhick may have painted life at an army post as somewhat too agreeable. The salary was better than Cheyenne schools paid.

It was a two-day drive from Cheyenne to Fort Laramie. This trip I made under the protection of Reverend Cowhick. Our first night out we spent at the large ranch house of F. M. Phillips—no relation to John "Portugee" Phillips.

Our host was evidently a well-to-do cattle man and known as "Butcher Phillips" because he furnished beef to the army. I learned that in earlier days, he and an associate named John Hunton, had made it their business—and a dangerous one it was—to supply meat and basic necessities to Forts Laramie, Fetterman, Reno, McKinney and others.

Phillips was a "squaw man." During my night's stay at the ranch, Mr. Phillips decided to send one of his daughters to my school at Fort Laramie. She accordingly accompanied us to the Fort.

there for ten years. He was also interested in stock raising and was a county superintendent of schools in Rock Springs when Sweetwater County extended from the southern to the northern borders of Wyoming Territory. His daughter was born in Wyoming Territory.

His brother, John Dwight Woodruff, had come to Wyoming in the late 1860s and was responsible for bringing Dr. Woodruff to the territory. In his early days J. D. Woodruff was a skilled guide and scout. He settled in Fremont County, and three times represented that county in the state legislature. He was interested in gold mining, stock raising and various business enterprises during his lifetime.

On the Corlett-Riter side of the family, the young Fort Laramie teacher was a sister of W. W. Corlett, one of the best known and most able members of the legal profession in Wyoming. A native of Ohio, he came to Cheyenne in 1867 to practice law. He served as postmaster for Cheyenne, was a member of the Territorial Legislative Assembly. He also served as Laramie County prosecuting attorney. Corlett died in Cheyenne in 1890 at the age of forty-eight, after a lingering illness.

Although the specific year that Maria Corlett Riter taught at Fort Laramie is not known, it was probably in the early 1880s.  
—Editor.



WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

*Fort Laramie school children pose on the veranda of Old Bedlam, circa 1898*

At the Fort Laramie school life was not easy for the Phillips daughter. She spoke very little English. Finding her teacher acquired the Indian tongue easier than she did English, she ceased trying to learn. Teacher had to stop using Indian words, until the girl decided to try to learn our tongue. Poor young one was so homesick. Every opportunity she would run away to a nearby hill top and there "make medicine"—the prayer that she might go home. Even her bright mind—a good mind—could not make her "medicine" work. The following year her father sent her east to a sisters' school. I was told that there she made an unusually good record for herself.

There were some fifty families at Fort Laramie besides the soldiers quartered there. I lived and boarded with the head of the Commissary Department. During good weather, I slept in a halfway boarded-up, tent-covered place beside the house where I lived. My tent door was in two sections—upper and lower. One morning the lower section was hard to open. Looking out, I saw two large rattlesnakes curled up against it.

Every child in the Fort came to my school. Kindly fort officers and wives came to meet Teacher—and all during my year were most thoughtful and kindly, though there were few social graces when winter winds

blew and snow piled high. Soldier ranks and fort denizens were of all kinds and colors and all cleared a path for Teacher. More than one anxious little squaw came to see me. I found friends in unexpected places among the ranks.

Soon after arriving at the Fort, I met a nice looking, Boston-born young man. Of about the same age, and school textured, we had a pleasant evening and a date to go horseback riding on the morrow.

Next afternoon he appeared with two very good looking horses. We had a delightful ride though he considered it unsafe to go out of or beyond sight of the Fort.

That evening my landlady—wife of the Commissary officer—told me my escort was an enlisted man. I must not go out with him again. No one in an officer or government official standing ever went out with an enlisted man. It just was not done.

My winter at Fort Laramie was interesting in every way. It was a special and worthwhile association and experience I consider it a privilege to have had. But a frontier post on the edge of civilization is not an easy place to live. It is anything but. And winters are long, cruel, heavy. At the end of the year I did not renew my contract.

# Lovell's Mexican Colony

By Augustin Redwine



STIMSON COLLECTION WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

"It was dirty and disagreeable work . . . to block, thin and hoe the beets . . ."

Industry came to Lovell, Wyoming, in 1916, bringing an influx of new residents including Mexican beet laborers.

The town, settled in 1900 by Mormon farmers, had been simply the center of an agricultural community until Great Western Sugar Company decided to establish a sugar factory there. Suddenly, other industries came to town. Big Horn Basin Clay Products constructed a tile factory. A local group established a cannery while Big Horn Glass Company built a glass factory. Secondary businesses, as well as an oil exploration company, added to the growth.

A shortage of housing for the workers in the various enterprises became acute. The Lovell Chronicle frequently commented on the "impact" problems as a result of the new industries in town.<sup>1</sup>

Great Western Sugar Company officials ordered the construction of numerous houses for management personnel and dormitories for factory workers at their plant. Tents and makeshift structures sprang up but somehow did not alleviate the serious shortage of accommodations for workers in the community.

At the same time that the town was experiencing the housing shortage, the beet farmers in the area could find no available labor to work in the fields. In the fall of 1918 local businessmen worked in the beet fields and the sugar factory to help bring in the harvest.<sup>2</sup> A source of labor had to be found as well as housing for the incoming workers. The result was the Mexican colony at Lovell.

During the early 1900s, field workers in Utah and Idaho fields originally came into those states from other areas. Chinese, Japanese, Filipino and Mexican workers came from California, while Germans, Russian-Germans and southern Europeans were brought from the Midwest and Great Plains states.<sup>3</sup>

In 1907, Japanese immigration to the United States had stopped completely. The First World War reduced the number of Russian-Germans available for work in the fields. Manpower was directed toward the war effort with army service stripping the labor supply.<sup>4</sup>

While the labor pool decreased from 1915 to 1920, the number of acres planted in sugar beets (in the Great Western company's territory) increased from 185,584 acres to 276,550 acres.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, sugar factories more than doubled from 41 plants operating in 1915 to 88 factories five years later. By 1920 Great Western alone had 49 sugar factories, including the one at Lovell.<sup>6</sup>

The sugar companies found a ready supply of labor among Mexican Nationals and Mexican-Americans during this period. In Utah and Idaho fields, over 2000 laborers, mostly Mexican, were brought in to work in 1917 and 1918.<sup>7</sup> In fact, the companies were in such

great need for laborers that they received special permission from the U. S. Department of Labor to import workers from the interior of Mexico.\*

Conditions inside Mexico made such an exportation possible. Political discontent led to armed rebellion in 1910 and 1911. After Madero was inaugurated to succeed the deposed Diaz, he too lost the support of the masses because of land policies. Instability continued with the brief Huerta "counter-revolution" followed by the Carranza presidency. To many Mexicans, turbulent and war-torn Mexico was not the place to seek a future.

When the Lovell factory began operating, most workers in the Great Western Company's "territory" were Spanish-speaking people from Texas, New Mexico and southeastern Colorado, however. The company did not recruit within Mexico.<sup>9</sup> While many of the workers were still "Mexican Nationals," they had immigrated earlier and had already received resident worker status when the company recruited them.<sup>10</sup>

The sugar companies during this period received most of their workers from labor recruiters. Some were company agents who were paid a straight salary plus expenses to recruit laborers for the company. Their duties were varied and ranged from booking advertisements in newspapers in areas where prospects were good to appointing sub-agents and registering laborers. The company recruiter often was required to explain the type of work the laborers could expect and the living conditions they might encounter. Occasionally, company recruiters had to make excuses for injustices committed by some growers, particularly involving wages, but their usual duties did not extend beyond the initial recruitment.<sup>11</sup>

The Great Western company recruiting force consisted of sixty men in 1924 in various aspects of labor procurement. Of these, twenty-two men were assigned to the Denver headquarters to coordinate activities of labor agents in Colorado, Nebraska, Montana, South Dakota and Wyoming. Twenty-three "labor counters" worked in Texas and New Mexico while fifteen men conducted labor shipments from southern points (El Paso, Dallas, Fort Worth) to the factory towns and farms further north like Lovell.<sup>13</sup> Individual factories, sixteen in Colorado and three in Wyoming, employed their own local recruiters who were also involved in the distribution of laborers to places having shortages.<sup>14</sup>

Others were commission agents who were paid a fee by the sugar company for each laborer recruited. Still others were free-lance recruiters who would stop people on the street, promise to get them on beet labor trains and collect a fee from the prospective laborer.<sup>12</sup>

The duties of commission agents and free-lance recruiters were just as varied as those of company recruiters although there was less accountability. In many cases proper procedures were not followed.

Although most recruiters were themselves Mexican or very fluent Spanish speakers, occasionally confusion would result from the stories they told the prospective laborers. The experience of Secundino Rodriguez is typical. He was recruited by a company recruiter who had spoken with Secundino and his wife several times about work in the fields. The recruiter told them they would get about \$25 per acre per year and told them the land they would work would be divided into small plots like the Mexican ejido. Ejido is a Mexican "community land" system based on Indian practices dating to before the Spanish conquest. Under the system, land given to villages was divided into small family plots.<sup>15</sup> The land on which Rodriguez was to work was much larger than an ejido, however.

The Rodriguez family gathered their possessions and boarded the train in El Paso on May 2, 1924. Three full cars of people from all parts of Texas and Mexico made the train trip to Lovell with only one stopover on

the way. At the stop in Denver they received further instructions about where they were going. Accommodations were cramped and they were never allowed to leave the train. Bologna sandwiches, sardines and coffee were provided for meals.

When Secundino and his family arrived in Lovell, a farmer was waiting to take them to his farm and the one-room house he had for them. They also saw the acreage they were to work for the first time. It was not a small plot like the recruiter told them. Their main duties included not only working the beets but feeding the cattle as well.

Rodriguez's nephew Eusebio was recruited by a free-lance recruiter who took his money then told him his destination was Oregon. Instead, he was sent to Boise, Idaho. He came to Lovell in 1924.

All three types of recruiters faced stiff competition with sheepmen, lumber mill operators, highway construction companies and railroads for the available

## Recruiting Beet Laborers in the

S. C. (Sabino) Lopez recruited beet workers for Great Western Sugar Company in the 1920s. In the following interview he describes the recruiting process in detail.

Lopez was born in Salem, N. M., in 1898, and after working for Great Western, bought a beet farm in South Dakota. In 1946 he went to Cheyenne and worked as a mechanic for United Air Lines. He founded the Latin American Federation in Cheyenne in 1948.

Active in politics, he was founder and editor of the state's only Spanish-language political newsletter, *Habla La Democracia*, which was published every two years from 1958 to 1964.

Lopez died on August 9, 1978, several months after the following interview was conducted.

**Q: How did you get into recruiting?**

A: I had been working at the Great Western Company in Greeley since 1920. In 1921 I was made foreman of one of the stations within the factory. Ever since I started working in 1920 I had made it a point to learn as many stations of the factory as I could. In 1923 I asked the superintendent if I could learn the lab work. I told him I would donate two hours of my time before my regular shift to learn how to analyze samples to determine alkalinity. The superintendent was impressed with my desire to learn about the industry and after a while introduced me to C. V. Maddux, the Labor Commissioner for Great Western. Mr. Maddux asked me if I would be interested in recruiting laborers for Great Western and I

agreed. I received some instructions on how to recruit and then I began.

**Q: How many years did you recruit?**

A: I started in 1924 and quit in 1933 when I began farming in South Dakota. I did not recruit in 1928 and in 1930.

**Q: Where did you recruit and how?**

A: All over. But 1924, when I began, I was sent to El Paso (Texas) to work with Dave Kagee, from Fort Morgan, Colorado. We brought special labor trains from El Paso to Denver. I remember how the Border Patrol used to check the trains for wetbacks. Oh, sometimes they squeezed in but the government (Border Patrol) inspected the families for passport, port of entry. The families needed some kind of proof. We had to clear four or five inspections in El Paso and later when we got to Albuquerque two or three more.

These special trains went direct to Denver and the Company (Great Western) paid the families transportation and provided lunch on the road—sandwiches and coffee. Denver was the main disembarkation point and from there they (workers) went to Wyoming, Montana, Nebraska and Colorado. In Colorado they were sent to Greeley and Fort Morgan. In Wyoming they went to Lovell and Worland.

An interesting story is that the farmers owned the Fort Lupton (Colorado) factories but they used Great Western laborers. But after 1924 Great

labor supply. Besides Great Western, three other sugar companies were involved in beet worker recruitment. Supplying the seasonal labor to the beet farmers was a costly task for all four companies.<sup>16</sup>

Laborers were not recruited for plowing, planting, cultivating, lifting and hauling because such operations required skill and experience due to the machinery involved. Those types of chores were done by the farmer or his year-round hired help. The migrant labor families were needed for the operations requiring hand labor. It was dirty and disagreeable work. In the spring and early summer the workers had to block, thin and hoe the beets. Blocking the beets meant cutting out undesired beet plants in order to properly space the remaining plants. Thinning involved the removal of all except one beet plant from the cluster left by the blocking and it required the worker to crawl on all fours along the beet furrows.

There was cultural variation in the performance of

these operations. The Russian-German father blocked beets with a long-handled hoe while the rest of the family usually thinned the beets on their hands and knees. The Mexican laborer blocked with one hand and thinned with the other.<sup>17</sup>

In the fall after the plants had grown and weeds had been kept out all summer by hoeing, the farmers would loosen the ground with a machine lifter and the laborers would pull the beets by hand. After they were pulled, the tops of the beets would be cut off by hand with a knife.

A major disadvantage of stoop labor was its seasonal nature. Each growing season the migrants would have to return to the beet farm areas for work. Sugar companies tried to find ways to avoid the labor supply snarls.

As early as 1920 Great Western management recognized the need to keep the laborers on the farm, not only to maintain a steady labor supply but to avoid the tremendous costs involved in transporting labor each

## 920s — Sabino Lopez's Story

Western bought the farmers out. What happened was that the farmers' company went on the stock exchange and Great Western had been trying to buy them out. Well, the farmers wouldn't sell to Great Western so after some months Great Western sent a dummy representative (gave him a false identity) and bought the farmers out. Boy were they surprised!

In 1926 I was promoted to Supervisor of the Agencies which meant I was boss of the recruiters in Arizona, New Mexico, El Paso, Amarillo and Pecos. In New Mexico my agencies were located in Roswell, Clovis, Carlsbad, Tucumcari, Santa Rosa, Clayton, Albuquerque, Deming and Las Cruces where I was born. Oh yes, Hurley, New Mexico too. I was almost thrown in jail there. You see it was a company town for some mining company and they didn't appreciate my going in there to take their workers. I told them I wasn't taking their workers. I was only going to see two who had answered our advertisement in the newspaper. Besides, I told them I would be out of jail in a day because Great Western would have had me out in no time. It was touch and go for a while and they finally let me talk to the two people I had come to see.

**Q:** You advertised in newspapers?

**A:** Yes. Newspapers and people used to write the company and our agencies looking for work.

**Q:** How were you paid?

**A:** Well, all my expenses were paid and that included

mileage, tips, telephone, meals and board, room or office space. You know I also had to deal with the railroad people and set up train schedules and pay passenger fares and set fares too. I guess I made about \$900 a month including salary. My expense account was sent in to the Denver Company and they reimbursed me weekly. Sometimes I used to carry as much as \$2000 in my pocket. It was money I would use to recruit people. Or pay for my bills. I would always be reimbursed.

**Q:** Were you paid for the number of families you recruited?

**A:** No. I wasn't a commission agent. I was on straight salary. Some guys were commission agents who received money from Great Western for every worker they recruited.

**Q:** How much did Great Western pay "per head"?

**A:** It varied from one place to another. It depended on how far they (the workers) were from Denver. For example, if a commission agent recruited someone from Raton, New Mexico, he would get \$3 "per head". Usually it was \$2 "per head" paid to the agencies (by the Company) for anyone 16 years and up. You see the agency got more money if Great Western didn't have to pay much to transport the family or person. Raton is closer to Denver so the agency guy made more money. The Gonzales Agency in El Paso received \$2 for every man and woman over 16 years. There was no commission paid for anyone under 16 years of age.

*Continued*

season. During 1924, for example, the company spent \$200,000 for transportation of food for 8152 beet laborers brought to the farms. The workers were imported into the Wyoming and Colorado fields from as far east as Omaha and as far south as El Paso.<sup>18</sup>

The company management also feared immigration restrictions proposed by the Mexican government, believing that such legislation would cut off the best supply of labor. The proposed law stipulated that all laborers wishing to work in the United States and their families, including children, would have to pay a \$10 fee. In addition, an "adult tax" of \$8 was to be levied on all Mexican Nationals holding worker visas. The \$8 charge would be refundable if the worker returned to Mexico within six months, however.<sup>19</sup>

Such proposals made it even more difficult and expensive for companies to recruit workers. Nevertheless, by 1926 Great Western had paid for 10,800 full fares and 3700 half fares for individuals brought by train or motor vehicle to the fields.<sup>20</sup> Despite the cost and difficulties encountered, it was double the number brought north a couple of years earlier.

Seasonal labor also encouraged desertion. Of all workers brought to the fields in 1924, it was estimated that about seven percent deserted.<sup>21</sup>

In short, permanent resident labor had none of the disadvantages of importation. Company officials, in fact, believed crop yields suffered unless resident laborers were used. Colonization appeared to be the only answer.

## "What was it like for the beet workers?" "There

(Continued From Page 29)

Well, you see it cost the Company to transport them to the farmer. And the Company fed the family until the farmer received the family. Then the farmer provided living quarters and food which was deducted from the wages earned.

**Q: What were the wages of the family?**

**A:** It varied from year to year. For the sugar beet workers probably an average was about \$9 an acre for thinning, \$2 an acre for the first hoeing, \$1 an acre for the second hoeing, and \$7 an acre for harvest topping.

**Q: The entire family received those rates?**

**A:** Yes. If you had more working you could cover more acres but the family was paid.

**Q: Did you recruit in Mexico and who did you recruit mostly?**

**A:** I never went into Mexico but everyone I recruited was Spanish-speaking.

**Q: What did the companies provide for the workers?**

**A:** Remember I told you the farmers were responsible for the workers after Great Western brought them (the workers) to the farmer? But Great Western had started to figure out that it was pretty expensive to keep paying the transportation every year for the workers so they decided to have a ready supply of labor. So in 1927 a colony was established in Greeley. It was a good idea. Other colonies were soon established. There were three more in Colorado (Ft. Collins, Kersey, and Milliken) and two in Wyoming, Worland and, I think, Lovell.

**Q: What do you mean, "Colony"?**

**A:** A place where they could live. The Company asked me to pick the spot, then they surveyed the land,

divided it into lots and provided all the lumber and cement for the people to build their houses. They didn't provide the labor but the people built, 2, 3 and 4 room houses. The company gave them 3 years to pay for them and in the meanwhile the company paid taxes on the land and improvements until they were paid for and then the workers received the title. It's still there two miles west of Greeley. C. V. Maddux and I planted the cottonwoods. They were little fellows then.

**Q: How many families lived in the Greeley Colony?**

**A:** About forty families.

**Q: How many agents were recruiting for Great Western about this time?**

**A:** Twenty-three.

**Q: All these agents were recruiting people and sending them by train to Denver?**

**A:** No. We advanced money to those that had cars. That's why I carried so much money around. We gave them the same amount that it would cost to bring them in by train.

**Q: How much would that cost?**

**A:** From El Paso it would cost \$20 a head. That's a full fare. And it would be less the closer it would be to Denver.

**Q: What is a full fare?**

**A:** That depends on the size of the family. For example for a family of six from El Paso it would cost \$120 to bring the family up. The family did not owe the company the money, either.

**Q: Where were the workers from?**

**A:** They were from all over. I remember one year to supply 21 factories we had 12,000 full fares. We sent them all over, too.

Great Western established their first "colony" for Mexican workers in Fort Morgan, Colorado, in 1922. In the previous year only 400 families stayed throughout the year in the GW area. By 1924 there were fifteen other colonies in the Great Western system and 2000 families were making their homes all year in the country.

The company bought large tracts of land in some cases and subdivided it for worker houses. Usually, the company supplied the materials if the worker would build the house. The company would then lease the lot and home back to the worker until it was paid for, usually four or five years later.<sup>22</sup> In Lovell, colony residents were not given the option of purchasing their homes because unlike the Greeley colony and others, the Lovell

structures had been built on factory grounds. No rent was charged to the workers in Lovell, however. Despite that, many residents never felt comfortable there because the homes belonged to the company.

Generally, the colony houses were constructed of adobe bricks measuring 4x12x18 inches. Pure adobe was not used because it disintegrated under the extreme weather conditions but a mixture of sandy loam soil and straw proved very durable. The houses had adobe floors, one or two rooms, and, at least in the case of the Fort Morgan colony, occupied lots averaging about 50x200 feet. The cost of the house and lot together was \$100 (\$25 for the lot, \$75 for the materials used in the construction of the house).<sup>23</sup>

The company decided who would live in the houses. The overriding standard was that the residents be "experienced, high quality workers" so that even better and more timely work could be expected and obtained from them. Great Western's colonies housed fieldmen as well as sugar factory managers.

With the colonies the company reasoned that everyone would benefit: the company would save thousands of dollars in recruiting and transportation costs; the laborer would have a permanent home and thereby avoid paying high prices for rent and food during the "unemployment season" in the winter; and the farmers would receive higher quality and more loyal help.<sup>24</sup>

There are conflicting opinions as to the date the Lovell colony was established. One long-time Lovell resident said there were some houses in the greasewood area later known as the colony before 1923. The Great Western Company's magazine, *Through the Leaves*, printed two photographs of the colony houses in 1924, indicating that the colony had only been established that year.<sup>25</sup> Kaniel Wembke, a Belgian who came to Lovell in 1923, remembered seven or eight houses in the colony when he first arrived. Whether it was 1924 or earlier, the colony housed other company employees who were not Mexican laborers. Wembke lived there for a number of years when he was employed by Great Western in the factory.

While accounts vary as to the number of houses built there, no more than twenty were in existence at any one time.<sup>26</sup> They lined a single unpaved road at the end of which stood a building, about twice the size of the residences, that served as a meeting house.<sup>27</sup> The colony was a noisy place, Wembke recalls. It was only a few yards from the railroad tracks, next to a cattle yard, and the Mexicans seemed to have "many kids and dogs."

According to one resident, Secundino Rodriguez, the houses were adobe, had cement or dirt floors (depending on the year they were built) and had wood burning stoves for cooking and heating. Most were one-room structures although he remembers that some had

## *was prejudice . . . "*

**Q:** All of the workers were Spanish-speakers?

**A:** Well, sometimes local Anglos worked in the fields. They were kids though. Sometimes Indians were used, too.

**Q:** What was it like for the beet workers in the communities they worked in?

**A:** The communities were fair. The workers brought in a lot of money to spend on groceries, a car. There was prejudice; in Greeley especially. But Colorado had some civil rights legislation on the books that was very effective.

**Q:** Were the workers instructed on how to work the beets?

**A:** Great Western trained the new workers. The Company had prepared a film that I showed and translated. This film showed the entire sugar beet process from planting, through harvesting down into the factory. It showed the beet workers working, the factory process that turned the beets into sugar. The company rented a theatre and showed it for free. But actually working in the field, well, the field man showed them the actual process.

**Q:** You mentioned that you have recruited all over. Did you recruit in Cheyenne?

**A:** Yes, I came to Cheyenne several times. An agency had its office behind a pool hall downtown in 1927. I actually recruited here several times but in 1931 the Agency had sent a man to Torrington but he was sluffing off and not doing his job. The Company recruiting in Cheyenne would save them money in fares. The people I recruited were sent to the Nebraska fields. One year I recruited 153 families. I am not sure when that was. I didn't do much recruiting after that. I moved to South Dakota and began to farm.

two rooms. None had running water although faucets located at each end of the road and in the middle of the colony supplied domestic needs.

Gas heating replaced the wood stoves in 1927 although residents had the option of connecting to the line. Eusebio Rodriguez never hooked up to the gas as he preferred the wood burning stove. Electricity was not available until years later and then only if residents installed it themselves. Eusebio did not add electricity to his house. Instead he kept using kerosene lamps.

The only costs associated with living in the colony were utilities which ran about \$4 per month by one estimate. Some of the colony residents lived on the farms during the beet season and moved back to the colony during the winter while others lived there year-round causing some variation in this estimate.<sup>28</sup>

Houses provided by farmers were usually of questionable quality throughout the Great Western company area.<sup>29</sup> Great Western tried to improve the housing on the farms by providing farmers with material and Mexican labor to build adequate labor houses. The company knew the quality of the labor house was the key to their plan to keep the beet labor on the farms during the winter. Sometimes the plan was successfully implemented and consequently only a few laborers of the hundreds in the area ever lived in colonies.

When the Mexican laborer first arrived in Lovell, usually he was penniless. Great Western customarily gave small advances until the laborer received his first paycheck, but the advances were in the form of groceries to be ordered from a local merchant—not cash. Occasionally, a merchant would allow credit to a laborer if the grower or the company agreed to make payment should the laborer leave town before paying.<sup>30</sup> The growers themselves sometimes would make advances, deducting the amount given from their first paycheck.

General farm laborers usually received from \$15 to \$80 per month. The Mexican Nationals were paid the same wages as other workers.

Great Western management recognized that many of their employees could not budget properly. The company deducted a small sum from each worker's check to be repaid to them if they stayed on through the winter. Secundino Rodriguez had \$5 deducted for every acre he worked during the season. Unfortunately, if the laborer failed to stay during the winter, the company kept the money they had deducted from the wages.<sup>31</sup> The effect was a "credit trap" in which the laborers needed money in order to leave but could not receive any unless they stayed. Another laborer Jose Cobos said he disliked the winter and the rural setting the first year he arrived but he stayed simply because of his lack of funds.

Russian-German workers had the reputation of quickly accumulating savings from their work and investing it into their own farms.<sup>32</sup> In Lovell this was true of many of the Mexicans as well. Some laborers were

able to lease or buy land within ten years of their arrival. Cobos bought his farm in 1940—just seven years after coming to the country. The Belgian-born Wembke believed, however, that Mexicans did not try to better themselves. He particularly could not understand why the Mexicans did not keep their children in school.

Like other Americans, the Mexicans experienced hard times during the Great Depression of the 1930s. The Mexicans worked in exchange for flour, beans and other staples in those years when their employers were unable to pay wages. Families in need were always helped by others in the colony, even during the early years before the onset of the depression.

The relationships between native and non-native Spanish-speaking people were generally good. They celebrated holidays together, although the native Mexicans were not required to work on Mexico's national holidays. In the Lovell community there were several marriages between members of each group. For example, Secundino Rodriguez's daughter married a native of New Mexico.

Mrs. Rose Cordova of Cheyenne came to Wyoming as a beet laborer in the 1930s. Although she did not live in Lovell, her comments about the rivalry between the two groups are typical. She remembers that her father disliked the native Mexicans and did not allow his family to work near them or mingle socially with them. There was rivalry between the Mexican Nationals (known as suromates) and the American-born Spanish-speaking people (known as "chewies.") The Mexican Nationals found it strange that their American-born counterparts chewed tobacco, hence the nickname.

Mexican Nationals called themselves "Mexicanos Limpios" or pure Mexicans. They used the term, "vendidos," for the American born. "Vendidos" has two definitions. Secundino Rodriguez explained it as referring to the historical fact that the Texas, New Mexico and Colorado areas and their inhabitants were "sold" to the United States by the notorious General Santa Ana. The more commonly used definition is that vendido refers to someone who is suspected of "selling out" his home culture by accepting the trappings of another culture.

In 1927, early in the colony's history, residents formed an organization, the Comision Honorifica (Honorary Commission), for both social and political reasons. At one point there were thirty members, according to Eusebio Rodriguez.

The Comision controlled the community meeting house, known as El Salon, where social functions were held as frequently as once a week. In El Salon the area's laborers celebrated Mexican national holidays which occurred nearly every month.

At first, Mexican-Americans from Texas, New Mexico and Colorado were allowed to participate in the festivities but they could not become Comision mem-



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*Field labor before the First World War was frequently done by Russian-German families.*

bers.<sup>33</sup> Membership was restricted to citizens of Mexico. Although he was not a colony resident, Jose Cobos became president of the Comision in 1934. He caused a rescission of the rule excluding Mexican-Americans from membership. Whenever the Comision met, however, framed photographs of Benito Juarez, Father Hidalgo and the current president of Mexico were hung on the walls. The Comision had committees like the Comite Patriotico (Patriotic Committee) whose chief function was to plan Mexican holiday parties.

Cobos served as president of the Comision until 1942. Born in San Luis, Potasi, Mexico, in 1904, he had first come to the United States in 1921 after he had won a contest in Mexico offering a trip to Dallas as first prize. When he finished high school he returned to Dallas and worked for the railroad for twelve years. In 1933 he heard about "big money" that could be made in Wyoming working in sugar beet fields. He and his family packed their belongings into a 1926 Model T and drove

to Lovell in one week. The next year he was elected president of the Comision, although he never lived at the colony nor particularly liked it. He believed the people there were "too rowdy."

The organizers of the Comision, Nicolas and Manuel Almazan, formed it to fight discrimination and to seek help from the Mexican consul in Denver if residents needed assistance from the outside.<sup>34</sup> The social function came later although Cobos said when he became president no festivities were ever again held in El Salon. The political function had become too important. While American-born laborers could go to the police and other authorities if they had difficulties, the Mexican citizen believed his only hope lay with the Mexican consul. The Comision was the link to the consul.

Complaints of discrimination in bars, the local pool hall and restaurants were frequently made. Even in the local Catholic Church seating for the Mexicans was divided from that for "whites." At one point Mexicans

and Blacks were refused admittance to bars altogether. The policy was amended to allow them to purchase beer or liquor in the bar although they were still prohibited from consuming their purchases on the premises. The sugar company remained silent about the discrimination so a complaint process had to be developed to allow the Mexican consul to intercede in such cases.

The Comision developed a complaint process for its members. Although the laborer could file a complaint directly with the Mexican consul if he could write it, he could initiate the process locally by simply speaking with the president of the Comision. The president would then write to the Mexican consul in Denver on the laborer's behalf.<sup>35</sup> When Cobos was president, he received no salary but he was reimbursed for expenses involved in the investigation of such a complaint. The money came from membership dues of \$1 per month from each member. (Eusebio Rodriguez noted that the fee was often whatever the member could afford, not just a flat \$1 per month.)

Even if the complaint were filed directly by the laborer, the Mexican consul would contact the Comision president to verify the nationality of the complainant and the facts stated in the complaint.<sup>36</sup> He could intercede only if the complainant was a Mexican citizen. The consul would contact local authorities in order to try to

remedy the problems. It was believed by some Comision members that the consul contacted officials in Washington, D.C., and Mexico City, who in turn, relayed their displeasure to state and local officials in the Lovell area.<sup>37</sup>

The Comision existed until 1940 when Mexican membership dropped off severely. The founders, the Almazan brothers, left that year and others moved away to join the war effort, returned to Mexico or simply lost interest.

The Mexican Nationals had never been secure enough to try to better their working conditions through labor organization. In the 1930s attempts by native American laborers to organize ended in failure when a New Mexican who was in charge of the drive absconded with the money collected to form the union. When the Mexican-Americans again tried to organize, the attempt failed because of company pressure. Great Western had been conscious of labor problems because after World War I, returning veterans protested against working the two twelve-hour shifts and the company had to go to three eight-hours shifts in order to appease them.<sup>38</sup> In the case of the Mexicans, however, the company made no attempt to bargain. Cobos recalled that when the group went to meet with management and demand better working conditions and better pay, a company man



*Great Western Sugar factory, Lovell, Wyoming, circa 1920.*

stepped toward them. "The men who aren't from Wyoming, raise your hands," he said. When several did, he told them to go back where they came from if they didn't like it in Lovell. The men dispersed.

Generally, the Mexicans never felt they had a reason or a right to complain. However, they considered themselves outsiders and were expecting to be treated as such. Consequently, they endured what they could not affect.

The Colony was demolished in 1954. At that time there were twenty houses, and the majority of the residents were related to Secundino Rodriguez. When the colony closed, they found quarters in town or in the surrounding area.

Many of the people who had lived there fought in World War II or in Korea but discrimination still existed in the bar and hotels when they returned home. Some, like Secundino Rodriguez, retired, but because no deductions for social security were ever made, received nothing for a pension. (Rodriguez, however, does receive a tiny pension because a farmer once deducted for the winter work Secundino performed for him over the years.)

Those who had sent their children to school heard stories about the impatience and disregard the teachers had shown for their children so most did not force them to return to the classroom.<sup>39</sup> In 1953 a survey was taken of the Spanish-surnamed school children in Lovell and all denied being Mexican and none had any knowledge of the customs of Mexico. Few of them spoke Spanish even though many of their parents or grandparents had never learned English.<sup>40</sup>

Although discrimination still existed, there were too few to effectively fight it. Individual families still celebrated the holidays but they were private celebrations and even then, one suspects that not much celebrating was done.<sup>41</sup>

Where the colony once stood is a mound of adobe, grass and straw. The mound is on the same unpaved road and the same three big cottonwoods that shaded the Rodriguez family's first house still stand there. The cattle yards to the west are deserted, too. All that remains to show that a unique group of people came to Wyoming to work the fields is the Great Western Sugar factory itself with its smokestack still looming over the prosperous community of Lovell, Wyoming.

1. "What the Sugar Company Means to Lovell," *Lovell Chronicle*, January 24, 1919, p.1.

2. *Ibid*

3. Leonard Arrington, *Beet Sugar in the West A History of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1891-1966*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), p.65.

4. Paul Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States: South Platte Valley*. (Berkeley: University of California Publications in Economics, 1929), p.105.

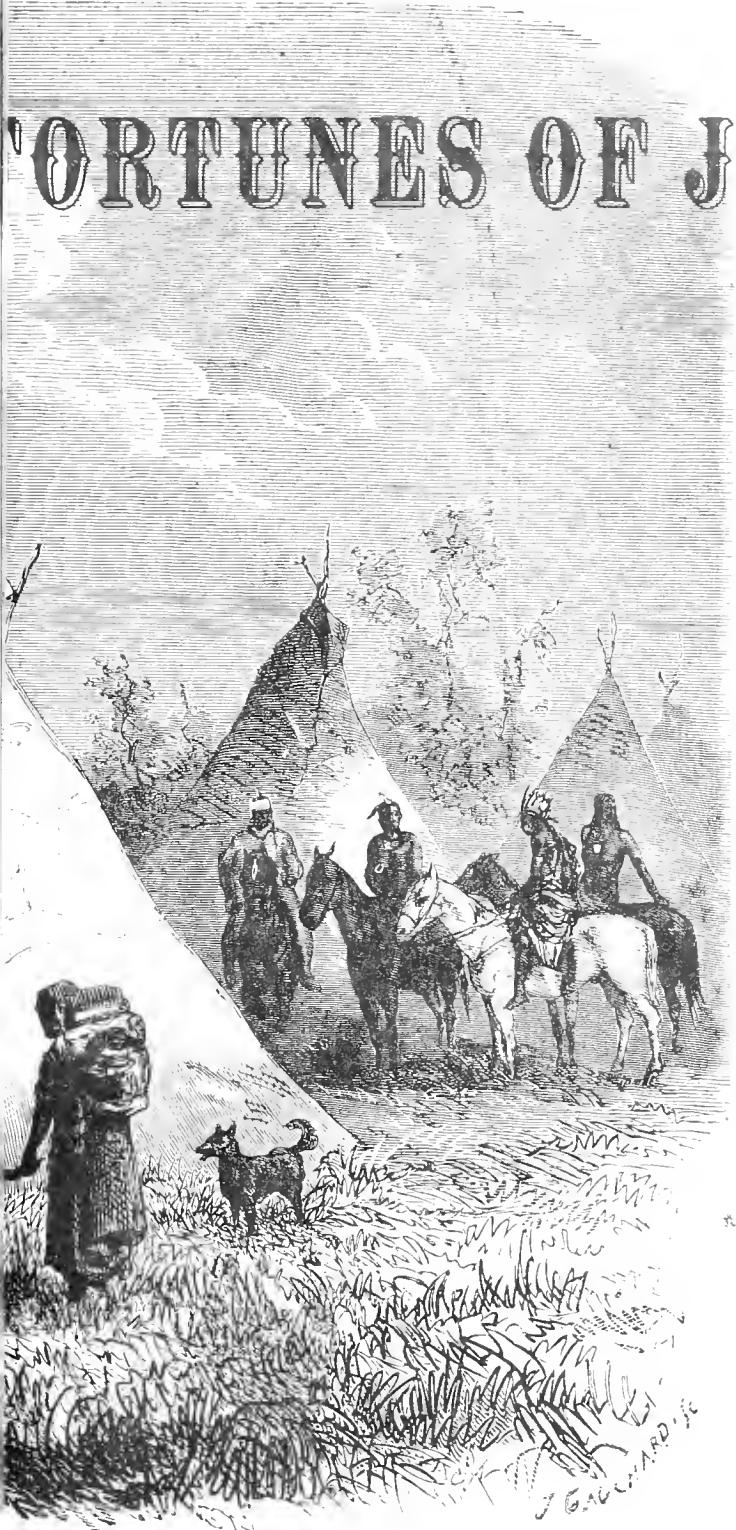
5. *Ibid.*, p.133.

6. "The Story of Sugar," Great Western Sugar Company Publicity Department, (Denver: 1931), p.2.
7. Arrington, *Beet Sugar*, p.90.
8. Taylor, *Mexican Labor*, p.105.
9. S. C. (Sabino) Lopez, interviews conducted in Cheyenne and Lusk, Wyoming, February 24 and April 1, 1978.
10. For the purpose of this article and to convey some sense of the feelings of that time toward the beet laborers, the term Mexican will be used when referring to the Spanish-language beet laborer regardless of whether he was a native of the United States or Mexico.
11. Lopez interview, February 24, 1978.
12. Eusebio Rodriguez, interview conducted in Lovell, Wyoming, October 12, 1978.
13. J. Williams, "Company Has Large Force Seeking Labor for Growers this Season," *Through the Leaves*, January, 1924, pp 169-170.
14. *Ibid*
15. Secundino Rodriguez, interview conducted in Lovell, Wyoming, October 12, 1978.
16. T. J. Crane, "Ten Years of Recruiting Labor," *Through the Leaves*, July, 1929, p.326.
17. Taylor, *Mexican Labor*, p.120.
18. C. V. Maddux, "Some Facts Regarding Beet Labor," *Through the Leaves*, January 1924, pp.50-51.
19. "Immigration Restrictions Again Threaten Mexican Labor Supply for the Beet Fields," *Through the Leaves*, January, 1924, p.49.
20. "Five Facts on Furnishing Field Labor," *Through the Leaves*, July, 1926, pp.393-396.
21. Maddux, "Some Facts," pp.50-51.
22. "Colonizing Mexican Beet Workers," *Through the Leaves*, October, 1923, pp.393-396.
23. "Home-owning, Permanent Beet Labor Colony is Growing," *Through the Leaves*, July, 1923, p.291.
24. C. V. Maddux, "Permanent Beet Labor," *Through the Leaves*, October, 1923, pp.350-351.
25. Maddux, "Some Facts," p.51.
26. No one interviewed indicated more than twenty houses ever comprised the Colony.
27. Kaniel Wembke, interview conducted in Lovell, Wyoming, October 12, 1978.
28. Secundino Rodriguez, interview conducted in Lovell, Wyoming, October 12, 1978; Wembke interview, October 12, 1978.
29. "Early Beet Work Need Only Increased by Delays," *Cowley Progress*, March 21, 1924, p.1.
30. Taylor, *Mexican Labor*, p.177.
31. S. Rodriguez interview, October 12, 1978.
32. Taylor, *Mexican Labor*, p.176.
33. S. Rodriguez interview, October 12, 1978; Jose Cobos interview conducted in Lovell, Wyoming, October 12, 1978.
34. E. Rodriguez interview, October 12, 1978.
35. S. Rodriguez and Cobos interviews, October 12, 1978.
36. Cobos interview, October 12, 1978.
37. E. Rodriguez interview, October 12, 1978.
38. *Ibid*
39. "Sugar Company to Adopt 8-Hour Shift," *Lovell Chronicle*, July 4, 1919, p.1.
40. Marguerite S. Condie, "Algunos Aspectos de la Vida de los Escolares de Habla Espanola en el Condado de Big Horn, Estado de Wyoming." Unpublished Masters Thesis, Universidad Autonoma de Mexico, 1953, p.60.
41. Condie, "Algunos Aspectos," p.84.

# THE FRONTIER



Village sioux, près du fort Laramie. — Dessin de Janet Lange d'après un croquis



colonel Heine.

WILLIAM H. BARTON COLLECTION

# ORTUNES OF JOHN W. SMITH

By John S. Gray

John W. Smith figured in many of the mile-stone events that highlighted the transformation of the Northern Plains from a paradise for roaming Indians to a land of mines, ranches and cities. He viewed the evolution with mixed reactions, for he early lived in the lodges of the Sioux and later in a Montana mansion.

He was no powerful shaper of human destiny, nor were his adventures studded with heroics. Instead, he was simply an able and enterprising frontiersman, typical of many, but more ubiquitous than most. From 1857 into the 1880s, wherever the interaction between whites and Indians was most significant, there also was curly-haired John W. Smith as Indian trader, army scout, government contractor or sutler.

Smith's earliest years are obscure. The only available biographical sketch<sup>1</sup> reveals that he was born in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1828, spent some years in a printing office as a compositor, and then in 1857 (the best confirmed date of several), at age twenty-eight, went west to Fort Laramie to trade with the Indians. Since he and two known brothers could not be found in the 1850 census of Louisville, they had already left that area.

Lt. Eugene F. Ware, who recorded a first-person interview with Smith at Fort Cottonwood, Neb. Terr., in 1864, provides the only clue to his youthful whereabouts: "After I graduated from Yale College, I thought that literature was what I wanted to follow and I tried my hand on a newspaper in Iowa, but finally determined to go west, as everybody was striking out for Pike's Peak [the implied date of 1859 is too late]. . . . I had studied Latin, Greek and French and knew something of the other languages [an aid in picking up Indian tongues]. . . ." An enlisted man told Lt. Ware that he believed he had seen Smith some years earlier in Ottumwa, Iowa, as a Yale graduate and newspaper editor.<sup>2</sup> Appropriate class rosters fail to support the Yale attendance, but there is no doubt that Smith had acquired a good education. He may well have spent some time in Ottumwa, for he later partnered with a business man from that city.

A greenhorn usually relies on experienced men to induct him into the intricacies of the Indian trade. Smith's mentors are identified in a letter, dated October 29, 1858, at James Bordeau's well-known trading post, eight miles below the army post of Fort Laramie.<sup>3</sup> Its four signers included newcomer Smith and two old-time traders destined to reappear in Smith's story: C. (for Conodore, but best known as "Todd") Randall, and E. (for Enoch) W. Raymond.<sup>4</sup> They characterized themselves as "prairie men," adding that "we have each of us made several trips over the California road from the States."

The letter reported that they had left Fort Randall, on the west bank of the Missouri just above the Nebraska border, on September 18 and had explored an easy, 350-mile wagon road west to reach Bordeau's post on October 26. This was not an emigrant road, but a modification of a long-used trader's trail. The addressee was Capt. John B. S. Todd, a West Pointer who had resigned his commission on September 15, 1856, to become sutler at Fort Randall and then form a partnership with Daniel M. Frost of St. Louis. The resulting Frost, Todd and Company consolidated other independent traders on the upper Missouri to make a strong opposition to Pierre Chouteau, Jr. and Company, popularly known as the American Fur Company.<sup>5</sup>

The fact that this trail-blazing quartet reported their findings to Capt. Todd implies that they were in his employ. That they explored a route from Fort Ran-

dall to Bordeau's post signifies something hitherto unsuspected of Frost, Todd and Company — that it extended its operations to the upper Platte, probably in conjunction with James Bordeau.<sup>6</sup> The American Fur Company had invited such a move by withdrawing from that region in 1857.

In support of this conclusion, Frost, Todd and Company applied for their second trading license on April 10, 1857, naming nine principal employees, all but two recognizable as upper Missourians. One exception was Leon Pallardie, who had traded entirely on the upper Platte since 1847, partly with Bordeau. The other exception, hand-copied as "J. Liernan," was probably Joseph Herman, another Platte trader who had served with Bordeau.<sup>7</sup>

John W. Smith's service on the upper Platte with Frost, Todd and Company could have lasted no longer than two years, for that firm dissolved on November 4, 1859.<sup>8</sup> Earlier that year a large number of Platte traders, drawn by the Pike's Peak gold rush, had moved south to mine the pockets of gold-seekers. With their Indian families they took up claims along the foot of the mountains in what would become Larimer County, Colorado, founding two settlements, Colona (present Laporte) on the Cache la Poudre River, and Merivale City (present Loveland) on the Big Thompson.

When a careless census-taker arrived in this broad area, he dated a full week's work August 4, 1860, listed everyone under the heading of Merivale City, accepted second-hand data on absentees, invented his own spelling and ignored most Indian wives. But he did enumerate, as traders, Todd Randall, E. W. Raymond and John W. Smith, the latter listed as born in Kentucky, but aged 50! He was living in the same dwelling as F. Harnois (20, Canada), Peter Carson (55, France) and John S. Smith (24, Missouri). This Carson was undoubtedly Pierre ("French Pete") Cazzeau (and other spellings), who figures in the local county records until 1866, when he left on an ill-fated trading trip. The second Smith was the well-known mountain man, John Simpson Smith, actually born in 1811 at Frankfort, Kentucky. Perhaps young Harnois supplied the faulty data.<sup>9</sup>

Also enumerated was another prominent trader, Elbridge Gerry (45, Massachusetts) and his Indian wife and family. Gerry's surviving account books reveal that he had outfitted John S. Smith at Fort Laramie in preceding years, and contain an entry to a "Smith and Garzeau" in May of 1860. This suggests that after leaving Frost, Todd and Company, John W. Smith had associated with Gerry along with his three cabin-mates.<sup>10</sup>

The best sense to be made of Lt. Ware's confused interview, mentioned above, is that John W. Smith soon left the Poudre settlement and traveled down the Platte to fall ill at Cottonwood Springs, Nebraska. After a slow recovery that left him flat broke, he secured a job with two brothers from New Hampshire, Jeremiah C. and

John K. Gilman, who ran a road ranch about fifteen miles east. Taking a load of Indian goods south to a Sioux village, Smith traded so profitably that the Gilmans kept him on for a time.<sup>11</sup>

After this point Lt. Ware's interview clarifies and continues (slightly condensed):

After I had been with the Indians for a while, I got a big disgust on with civilized life, concluded there wasn't much to it and that I would rather live like an Indian. Gilman offered to back me right along as a sort of partner. I married the daughter of the chief there on Red Willow and I got a nice tepee, some horses and dogs, and two children, one a boy and the oldest a girl. I was considered one of the band.

Omitted from the above is an implication that the Indian wife was a Cheyenne girl, for better evidence indicates she was a half-breed Oglala Sioux, thus the daughter of a white man. The care-free life of the Indian appealed to a good many educated whites who associated closely enough to discern the merits of so contrasting a culture. Often the resulting marriages were no less lasting and affectionate than white unions. Some, as did Smith's, survived the shattering of Indian ways by the ever-encroaching white tide.

Smith enjoyed his life among the Indians for several years—until the fateful spring of 1864 initiated a cycle of Indian wars. Col. John M. Chivington launched the cycle known as the War of 1864-65, by sending out Colorado troops to hurl a series of unprovoked attacks on Cheyenne villages in April and May of 1864.<sup>12</sup> This outraged the Cheyennes, and even the Sioux turned against white men sharing their lodges. Fearing for his life, Smith's grieving wife spirited him out of her village. The refugee reached Fort Cottonwood (future Fort McPherson) about the middle of May, 1864. Lt. Ware, suspicious of the trite "alias," John Smith, and disgusted with his disreputable appearance, promptly banished him from the post.<sup>13</sup>

To the officer's amazement, the tramp returned a few days later as a clean-shaven, neat and "quite a presentable-looking fellow," in the company of Alfred H. Gay, another frontiersman. When offered pay for fresh game, the pair went hunting and brought back \$30 worth of welcome meat. Not long after, Ware extracted his interview from Smith. It ended with the following explanation of Smith's disgusting appearance on first reaching the post.

On escaping from the Sioux village, Smith had fallen into the hands of some angry Cheyenne braves, who forced whiskey down his throat and then stripped him and left him unconscious on the prairie. He finally came to, lying in the blazing sun with a splitting hangover, maddening thirst and blistered skin. Finding only stagnant water in a buffalo wallow, he threw himself in and plastered his skin with protective mud. It was in this desperate state that he staggered into the post, only to be bounced as a drunken bum. Ware never did believe the "alias," but did have a strolling

photographer take a portrait, which is unmistakably that of the John W. Smith another camera caught ten years later.<sup>14</sup>

Official records verify Lt. Ware's statement that Smith and Gay promptly engaged as scouts. Lt. Joseph Bone, the post quartermaster, hired them as scouts from June 1 to 10, 1864, at \$10 a day. Maj. George O'Brien, post commander, sent them out to investigate the cause of the sudden Indian unrest, and to induce a delegation of Oglala and Brule Sioux to come in for a council. On their return, the pair submitted a long written report of their hazardous, but successful, mission.<sup>15</sup>

In several councils at Fort Cottonwood, the Sioux acted increasingly sullen, but the enraged Cheyennes were already retaliating along the South Platte. Gen. Robert B. Mitchell sped out from Fort Kearny to redistribute the troops of his District of Nebraska, which then extended to the continental divide. Picking up a few companies at Fort Cottonwood, he started for Fort Laramie on July 18. Lt. Ware names Smith as their guide, apparently as a volunteer, for no such employment record has been found.<sup>16</sup>

After reaching Fort Laramie on July 27, Smith disappears from view for some six months, during which Col. Chivington managed to escalate the subsiding Indian unrest into a full-scale war by massacring a Cheyenne village that had accepted sanctuary on Sand Creek, November 29. The tribe, now with Sioux as active allies, retaliated along the emigrant and stage route, completely closing down the line in January of 1865.<sup>17</sup> At Fort Kearny, Gen. Mitchell hastily assembled troops for a punitive campaign and there on January 11 his quartermaster, Lt. Charles Thompson, engaged John W. Smith as scout at \$5 a day. Three days later at Fort Cottonwood this officer hired two more scouts, Joseph Jewett and Samuel Welch, at \$4 a day. Lt. Ware, the principal chronicler of the ensuing campaign, somehow named the trio as Joe Jewett, Charley Elston and Leon Pallardie.<sup>18</sup>

Mitchell's command struck south on January 16 toward the Red Willow and Republican country, hoping to destroy the hostiles in their winter camps. But a frigid, 11-day march over a 350-mile circuit failed to turn up a single lodge—the quarry had moved northwest out of reach. Smith was discharged on January 25, the day before the frozen and discouraged troops trudged into Fort Cottonwood, suggesting that he had sped ahead with dispatches. The other pair took their discharge the next day.

On assuming command of the Department of the Missouri on February 9, 1865, Gen. Grenville M. Dodge pressed vigorously to reopen the line and mount a major offensive. Among the first troops he ordered west was a battalion of 11th Kansas Cavalry under Col. Preston B. Plumb, which slogged out of Fort Kearny on March 8 in weather that alternated between freezing blizzards and

sloppy thaws.<sup>19</sup> At the same time and place, Lt. Thompson again employed John W. Smith at \$6 a day as scout for the battalion.

By March 21, Smith had guided Col. Plumb's command to Julesburg, Colo., the site of Fort Rankin, soon to become Fort Sedgwick.<sup>20</sup> After a week's rest, the troops continued up the North Platte, but Smith probably remained at Julesburg. On April 30 Lt. Thompson, then at that post, reported him as in his continuous employ since March 8, with no hint of detached service. On May 5 Smith was transferred to the Camp Rankin quartermaster, Lt. R. J. Montross, of the 3rd U. S. Volunteer Infantry, a newly-arrived "galvanized yank" outfit. The scout took his discharge from this officer on May 26, terminating his last employment of record by the army.

When next heard of, Smith had entered into a partnership with Alvin Coe Leighton, a twenty-four-year-old member of a prominent family of Ottumwa, Iowa.<sup>21</sup> In late March of 1865, Al and his younger brother, James Leighton, left Omaha with a wagon train of sutler goods for the upper Platte posts. Fincelius G. Burnett, who began several years of service as teamster for Al Leighton on this trip, recalled that while at Julesburg on April 15, the train received news of Lincoln's assassination, and then proceeded on to the upper Platte.<sup>22</sup> It was probably at this time that Smith either met, or renewed an old acquaintanceship, with Al Leighton.

When Gen. Patrick E. Connor tramped his formidable Powder River expedition<sup>23</sup> out of Fort Laramie about August 1, hoping to punish the hostiles then thronging the Bozeman Trail to Montana, Al Leighton

accompanied it as field sutler. The column returned to Fort Laramie about October 1, having left two companies of the 5th U. S. Volunteer Infantry to garrison Fort Connor, a military post the general had established where the Bozeman Trail crossed Powder River (near present Sussex, Wyoming). Al Leighton received the appointment of sutler at this outpost, but he and his brother returned to winter in the settlements, leaving a man in charge of the sutler store, soon identified as Smith and Leighton's. The date of this partnership is uncertain, but there is no proof that Smith had been with Leighton on Connor's expedition.

The Denver *Rocky Mountain News* of November 28, 1865, ran the following new advertisement:

John W. Smith

A. C. Leighton

SMITH & LEIGHTON

Kearney City, N.T.

Wholesale and Retail

Dealers in

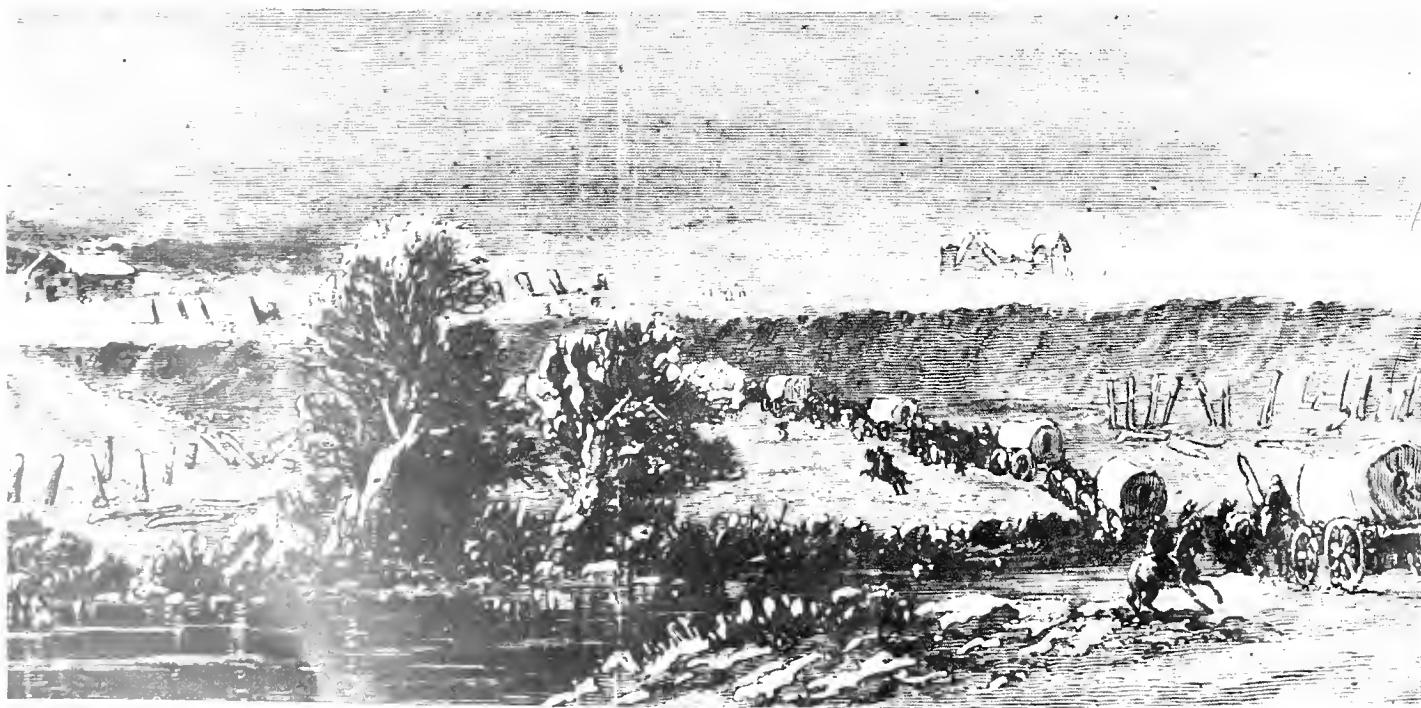
Grain and Provisions

A Complete Outfitting Establishment

Give us a Call

Nov. 28

This firm, of which the older Smith was clearly the senior partner, did not limit its operations to emigrants at Kearney City, a settlement two miles west of Fort Kearny, but also maintained the sutler store at Fort Connor. Smith may have wintered there, for if future practice prevailed, Al Leighton concentrated on delivering supplies and on emigrant and sutler sales, while Smith handled the Indian trade, often making excursions out to their villages.



OLD FORT RENO, FROM THE SOUTH—NOW DEPOT OF SUPPLIES FOR GENERAL CROOK.

News from the winter-bound outpost, now renamed Fort Reno, proved mighty slim, but by the spring of 1866 a correspondent signing himself "Dacotah" began sending dispatches to Denver.<sup>24</sup> Though proof is lacking, "Dacotah" may have been John W. Smith, former compositor and future writer of newspaper letters. Army rations were notoriously deficient in vitamins and the little garrison suffered heavy morbidity and a number of deaths from scurvy. Thus "Dacotah" could happily report on April 16, 1866:

Messrs. Smith & Leighton, post sutlers, have recently received a supply of canned fruits and fresh poultry, also in cans, which does much to eradicate the horrid disease so prevalent here, but in consequence of the heavy charges on freight to this place, the soldiers' wages go but a little ways in purchasing.

The troops may not have been able to assuage their ravenous appetites, but the scurvy did promptly disappear.

Again on July 1 "Dacotah" wrote that the lonely garrison had enjoyed the sight of attractive young ladies traveling with the numerous emigrant trains taking the Bozeman Trail to the Montana gold fields. Among them was Ellen Fletcher Gordon, whose diary and letters reveal that she had met "Mr. Layton, the post sutler," whose supply train her outfit had joined two days before they rolled into Fort Reno on June 21.<sup>25</sup>

Hostilities having appreciably subsided, Special Indian Commissioners went out to Fort Laramie in 1866 to cement the peace and extract permission for the unmolested use of the Bozeman Trail across the natives' hunting lands. While these delicate negotiations were in progress on June 14, Col. Henry B. Carrington marched in with a large column of troops under orders to occupy the trail and build two new posts along its course. At this evidence of duplicity, the offended chiefs stalked from the council vowing to make the trail run red with blood. They did so for the next two years in what is known as Red Cloud's War.<sup>26</sup>

While the Commissioners falsely reported a successful treaty, Col. Carrington's troops marched into Fort Reno on June 28 to relieve its volunteer garrison and expand its facilities. Up to this time the heavy emigrant traffic had proceeded without incident, but the arrival of troops provoked the first of a long series of severe Indian raids. In his dispatch of July 1, "Dacotah" wrote:

A party of Indians paid us a visit yesterday [June 30] and succeeded in driving off near 40 mules belonging to Smith & Leighton, post sutlers. Unfortunately, the cavalry horses were all out on herd at the time the alarm was given, and although pursuit was made as soon as the horses could be got in, the savages escaped with safety.

Col. Carrington reported this event and forwarded Leighton's claim for his loss, but nothing was done at the time. In 1873, Al resubmitted this claim for \$7,631 (along with six others) to the Indian Office, which recommended to Congress that it be paid at \$4,923.<sup>27</sup>

Carrington marched his column another 67 miles out on the Bozeman Trail to camp on July 18 at a point at the foot of the majestic Big Horn Mountains, where he erected his first new post, Fort Phil Kearny (near present Buffalo, Wyoming). Finn Burnett erred in recalling that Leighton set up another sutler store there, for army records show that this plum went to A. J. Botsford, who sent a former supreme court judge of Utah, John Finch Kinney, to conduct the business.<sup>28</sup> But Leighton did receive another sutlership at the second new post, Fort C. F. Smith, and he and Smith either accompanied or followed Carrington's column to the first to await the establishment of the second.

On August 4 they left with Capt. Nathaniel C. Kinney, who led two companies of his 13th Infantry on a further 91-mile tramp to where the Bozeman Trail crossed the Big Horn River just below its impassable mountain canyon (present Fort Smith and Yellowtail Dam, Montana). Arriving at the river bank on the 10th, the captain selected the site for Fort C. F. Smith, the most remote of posts.

Lt. George M. Templeton, a member of this column, left a copious diary of his tour of duty on the Bozeman Trail.<sup>29</sup> On the march there he mentions the sutler train and thereafter frequently refers to John W. Smith and the Leighton brothers. The first night out they camped on Peno Creek near the ravaged graves of the trading party of French Pete Cazzeau (here also once named as Peter Carson), Smith's former cabin-mate on the Cache la Poudre. This entire party, save Pete's Sioux wife and children, had been slain by angry Sioux on July 17.<sup>30</sup>

While Leighton was coining money from emigrant and captive soldier customers, Smith was looking for the friendly Crow Indians, in whose country Fort C. F. Smith was located. The first of the tribe wandered in to trade on August 28. The hostile Sioux were nevertheless keeping their eye on the place, for they purloined five of Leighton's mules on September 7 and one of Smith's horses on the 13th. Al Leighton submitted another claim of \$1,625 for this loss, but Smith never entered a single claim among the thousands received at the Indian Office by 1874.

Capt. Kinney became so wary that when a few Crow braves came in on October 24, he placed them in Smith's custody until he was satisfied they were not Sioux spies. Al Leighton's departure for Omaha on November 12 to bring out a fresh stock in the spring, left Brother Jim to mind the store, while Smith went out to trade in the Crow villages. He sent a note in to Capt. Kinney on December 5 assuring him that the Crows were loyal and gathering useful intelligence by spying in the Sioux camps. The presence of the Crows that winter spared Fort C. F. Smith the constant attacks that bottled up the larger Fort Phil Kearny. Disaster struck the latter

post on December 21, when the Sioux ambushed Capt. William J. Fetterman's detail of 83 men and wiped them out to a man.<sup>31</sup>

Lt. Templeton's diary entry for December 12 reads: "Mr. and Mrs. Smith came over from the Indian village on a visit. The latter is a half-breed and seems very modest and well behaved." This is one of few references to Smith's Indian wife. The officer last names Smith as present at the post on February 6, 1867. At intervals until June he refers to Crows coming in to trade, presumably with Smith.

Early in 1867 the President appointed a special commission to investigate the Fetterman Massacre, the causes of Red Cloud's War and to separate the friendly from the hostile tribes. Among them was none other than former Judge John F. Kinney, who turned over to his bosses the sutler store at Fort Phil Kearny while he came in to sit with the commission. The latter, after a few meetings, armed the judge with authority to purchase \$3000 worth of Indian presents and ordered him to proceed alone to either Forts Phil Kearny or C. F. Smith and there secure the allegiance of the friendly Crows.<sup>32</sup>

Since Red Cloud's warriors were more belligerent than ever, Kinney joined an escorted supply train for Fort C. F. Smith that left Fort Laramie on May 13. From Finn Burnett's clues, Al Leighton's spring train of sutler supplies joined the same convoy, which on May 31 pulled into Kinney's home base of Fort Phil Kearny, the center of Sioux hostilities.<sup>33</sup> The judge promptly learned that in response to runners earlier sent out, a Crow village had come in to meet him, but most had left when the Sioux ran off their pony herd six days before his belated arrival. Only a handful remained to beg him to come out to Fort C. F. Smith, where the Sioux danger was less. Contrary to the commission's objective of separating friendlies from hostiles, the judge refused and sent these few Crows to call their entire tribe back for a council.

On reaching Fort Phil Kearny, Al Leighton had planned to replace some hired teams by his own, which brother Jim was to have driven down from the store. But Al now learned that on May 26 Jim had lost the entire mule herd to raiding Sioux. This forced Al to store most of his goods, for he could muster but two wagons to continue on to his post when the escorted convoy left for there on June 4.<sup>34</sup>

Lt. Templeton recorded the arrival of this convoy at Fort C. F. Smith on June 11, noting that Al had ridden in on the evening before, but with only two loaded wagons. Brother Jim and Smith probably advised Al that they had learned on June 6 of Kinney's call for the Crows to come down to counsel, and that the tribe was reluctantly preparing to leave. Since Smith, undoubtedly short of goods, knew his customers were moving down to where Al had stored the new supplies, he probably

left with the convoy escort when it started back on June 12, for he was apparently present for Kinney's councils with the Crows.

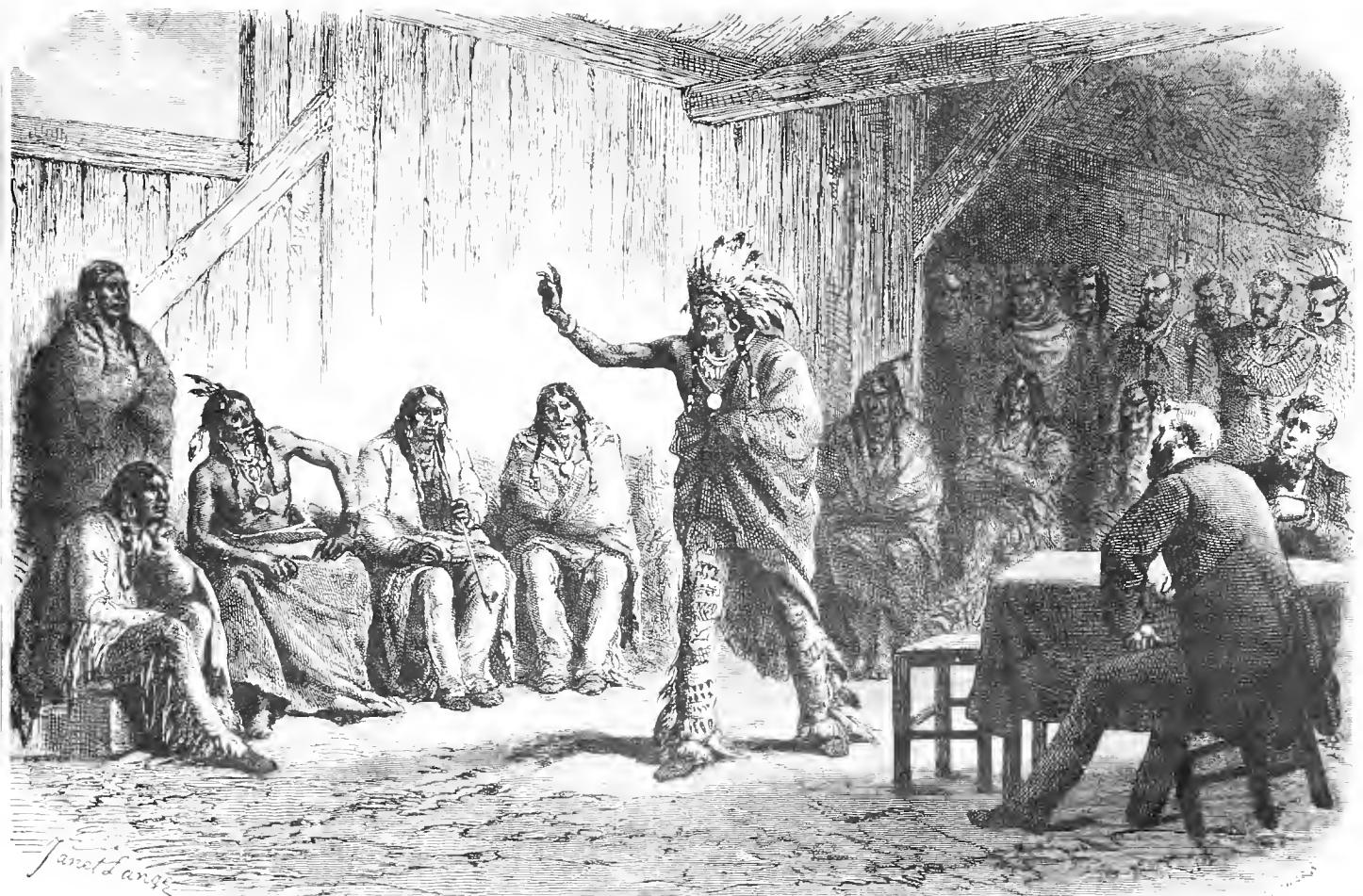
In the meantime, Kinney's report of June 4, on reaching Washington, drew a rebuke: "Do not bring the Crows to the fort [Phil Kearny], but leave them in their own country." But communications were slow and the judge was already purchasing presents "at the only store in that country," which could only refer to his own sutler shop. Somehow his authorized \$3000 bought \$5,816.13 worth of trinkets.

A Crow village of 180 lodges reached the fort on June 21 and two days later Kinney held his first council with them, during which the Sioux again ran off their pony herd. This time the victims swarmed out and recovered their stock, garnering three enemy scalps in the process. The next day in council the Crows complained bitterly of having to come to enemy Sioux country to meet the commissioner, and asked pointedly for the \$25,000 of annuities promised them in a treaty they had made the previous year at Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone. The judge could only reply that Congress had failed to ratify the treaty.

Fortunately, the Crows had so long been committed to friendship that even this rebuff failed to alienate them. On June 25 Kinney distributed his presents and two days later the Crows fled to safety in their own country. Throughout their presence the judge had conducted a lively trade with them, undoubtedly to the dissatisfaction of John W. Smith, who considered them his customers. Kinney left, probably on August 6 with another escorted train, and reported his arrival at Omaha on the 24th. Smith followed later, for on reaching Omaha he triggered the following news dispatch, dated at St. Louis, September 20, and which made the major newspapers the next day:

An Omaha special says that John W. Smith has just arrived from Fort Phil Kearney and that he charges Judge Kinney, special Indian agent at Fort Kearny, with gross injustice and frauds in his dealings with the Iowa [Crow] Indians, compelling them to remain in Sioux country against their will for the purpose of securing trade; that the annuities of \$25,000 promised them three years ago [one] were never paid, and claims that the goods sold at Kinney's store to the Indians were furnished by the Government for free distribution.<sup>35</sup>

Kinney promptly sent a copy of this dispatch to the Acting Indian Commissioner with a covering note asking six irrelevant questions. Receiving an answer to his questions, Kinney had both notes published in the guise of an official refutation of Smith's charges.<sup>36</sup> They did absolve Kinney of any blame in the matter of the Crow annuities; Smith should have leveled this charge at a delinquent Congress. The charge that Kinney had held the Crows in Sioux country was simply ignored, although the Indian Office had already protested this violation of orders and justice.



Le grand conseil des Corbeaux, au fort Laramie (12 novembre 1867). — Dessin de Janet Lange d'après des portraits et des croquis originaux.

PHILIP J. ROBERTS COLLECTION

The most serious charge, that from his own store Kinney had traded to the Crows the goods he had purchased with government funds, met with no denial whatever. As patent evasions, it was stated that the judge had been a commissioner, not an agent, and had paid by voucher, not cash. Since Smith's sympathetic understanding of Indians would more than once move him to speak out on their behalf, it is probable that more than business competition prompted his charges.

When Smith and family had left their lonely Montana post, they were expected to return, but Lt. Templeton was surprised to learn on December 13, 1867, that the trader had located at North Platte, Nebraska. Perhaps Smith's Indian family had been urging a return to more familiar haunts. In any case, this move interrupted the association with Leighton for some years. On November 23, 1867, Luther S. Bent applied to M. L. Patrick, the Upper Platte Indian Agent, for a license to trade in that area, listing John W. Smith as one of his traders.

Something went wrong, however, for on December 12, Bent complained that John Smith, Todd Randall and others had left North Platte to trade with the Sioux in the Red Willow and Republican country—without a

license. Lt. Col. Joseph H. Potter, commanding nearby Fort Sedgwick, investigated and verified the trading trip, but asked why Agent Patrick had not himself intervened. Obviously, the agent knew Smith was named on Bent's license, but was probably unaware that the association had turned sour.<sup>37</sup>

A major transformation on the northern plains occurred in 1868. On April 29 Peace Commissioners secured the first signatures on a Sioux treaty that promised them a "permanent" reservation covering all of present South Dakota west of the Missouri, where agencies would be built to convert traditional warriors and hunters into self-supporting desert farmers in a mere four years. In order to win consent to this repugnant scheme, the government abandoned the three Bozeman Trail forts and restored the Powder River country to the Sioux as "unceded" territory, where their roamers were promised freedom from white trespass and molestation. The Sioux were not advised, however, that other clauses contradicted these attractive promises.<sup>38</sup>

To move the Sioux to the reservation and set up the new agencies for the first year, Congress by-passed the Indian Office by appropriating special funds to the War Department for establishing a Sioux District to be com-

manded by retired Gen. William S. Harney. The resulting division of authority generated chaos, and the eyes of Congress purely popped, when it learned that Harney had exceeded his share of the budget of \$200,000 by nearly \$600,000.<sup>39</sup> Somehow, this performance was never brought up by the army in its repeated efforts to take over the Indian Office on the grounds of its superior efficiency.

Red Cloud's wild Oglalas and Spotted Tail's taming Brules discovered to their horror that their Whetstone Agency was to be located far east of their customary haunts, on the very bank of the Missouri a few miles above Fort Randall. They had long shunned this area because buffalo were no longer to be found there and whiskey traders thronged the river. Red Cloud promptly led his Oglalas back to their unceded territory. Only the "Laramie Loafers" and some of Spotted Tail's Brules could be induced to move, and even the latter might have balked, except for one thing.

Over the years, the intermarriage of traders and frontiersmen with Indians had yielded a sizeable nucleus of Indian women and their relatives and half-breed children ("Laramie Loafers") who were already accommodating to strange white ways. Though some were no credit to either race, many were persons of character

and ability who possessed valuable insight into two contrasting cultures. Contrary to prevailing belief, they would prove loyal, understanding and helpful to both sides in the days of trial to come.

On May 11, only a dozen days after Spotted Tail touched one of the first pens to the Sioux Treaty of 1868, a committee of seven prominent heads of mixed families petitioned for transportation and provisions to support the long trek to the Missouri. On receiving promise of support, the mixed families promptly organized to manage the migration themselves. A caravan of 750 of these people pulled out from North Platte on June 30. They led the way, two and a half months ahead of Spotted Tail's first party of full-bloods, whom Todd Randall would conduct.<sup>40</sup>

John W. Smith joined the first caravan with his family, having contracted to furnish a train and teams for the transport of others, for which he was eventually paid \$2000. On reaching the Missouri at the mouth of Whetstone Creek, he set up a trading post within yards of the agency headquarters. His partner in this venture was trader Jack Palmer, who had married Margaret Janis, a half-breed daughter of famed trader Antoine Janis, on the preceding February 10. James Bordeau also sold his venerable trading post just below Fort Laramie and set up another store at the agency. To complete the roster of Smith's old friends, Enoch W. Raymond became the first Whetstone agent and Todd Randall the first agency interpreter.<sup>41</sup>

Nearly a month before Gen. Harney arrived to organize the agencies, a soldier at Fort Randall wrote on August 10:

Times have been quite lively here since the arrival of the French and half-breeds from North Platte. Their trains of wagons and animals made quite an imposing display; they have nearly all left, however, for their reservation on Whetstone Creek, some 18 miles above here. Some of them returned this morning, much pleased with their selection of land. . . . They are already at work making a landing for steamboats, laying out a new road to Fort Randall, in fact, getting ready for winter.<sup>42</sup>

Spotted Tail's immediate followers did not arrive until late fall, and then camped miles out on White River, refusing to approach closer to the detested Missouri. Since only small game was available there, rations had to be wagoned out to them. Clearly, it was the mixed families, under their own management, who promptly built cabins, stores and laid out farms at the assigned agency as an example to others.

M. L. Patrick, still the upper Platte agent, but shorn of his powers, arrived on the scene in December to find 80 cabins built and 80 acres of ground plowed. He also found Enoch W. Raymond too ill to act as Harney's agent and anxious to turn over the job. Since Patrick lacked authority, a resident contract surgeon had to assume the extra duties as agent. This was Dr. S. L. Nidelet, a French-speaking physician from St. Louis,



*Spotted Tail, chief of the Brules*

probably a rebel army surgeon like his brother, Dr. James C. Nidelet, who had been captured and paroled during the Civil War.<sup>43</sup>

Dr. Nidelet, knowing nothing of Indians and despising "squawmen and half-breeds," was scarcely the man for the job. Friction with John W. Smith probably came to a head when the doctor revealed his intention to apply with Bordeau for the tradership and perhaps refuse to renew Smith's license.<sup>44</sup> While on a trip to Sioux City, Smith fired off the following hot letter to Gen. Philip Sheridan on June 1, 1869:

Dr. S. L. Nidelet has drawn his pay as agent for the Sioux Indian District at Whetstone, D. T., at \$200 a month. He will also make an effort to draw his pay as surgeon, under a contract made with the [Army] Medical Director at St. Louis, when Gen. Sherman was Lt. Gen. . . .

I will further state that Dr. S. L. Nidelet was a rebel surgeon in Price's rebel army during the rebellion, of which he boasts. Also, that he has on many occasions persecuted and traduced and denounced as "Yankee Pack Pedlars," etc., without provocation, the white citizens at Whetstone Agency, there colonized by the late U. S. Indian Commission.

Believing that he will be *retained* by Gen. W. S. Harney as *surgeon* at Whetstone Agency, where he has made himself extremely disagreeable by offering considerable sums of money to young and intelligent half-breed women to prostitute themselves, and by a general uncourteous and domineering spirit manifested towards your loyal subjects on the Indian Reservation, I make this report, believing you will give it your early attention.<sup>45</sup>

Events revealed that the trader, but not the doctor, weathered this storm. Gen. Harney's administration was approaching its end and the Indian Office was preparing to resume supervision of the Sioux. Officers of the regular army, temporarily unassigned, replaced all of Harney's agents. Capt. DeWitt C. Poole took over the Whetstone Agency on July 14, 1869, Dr. Nidelet leaving when his tradership did not materialize.

Smith dissolved his partnership with Jack Palmer on September 5, 1869, and on December 17 successfully applied for the Whetstone tradership in the name of Smith and Struder, the latter being unidentified. Named as employees were old-time trader Lester Pratte, E. M. Beckwith, John Atkinson, and most important, W. B. C. Smith. A person of this name had acted as courier at Fort Phil Kearny for Col. Carrington, who recommended him as a suitable commander of Winnebago scouts. This must have been brother Burns C. Smith, for throughout the year of 1870 the Yankton paper made regular mention of the thriving trading business at Whetstone of John W. and his brother Burns.<sup>46</sup>

Early in 1870 a group of prominent citizens of Cheyenne, Wyo., solicited a letter from the now well-known Smith to use in promoting an ambitious "Big Horn Expedition" to prospect for gold. Instead of glowing propaganda, honest John W. Smith answered on February 15 with some blunt truths. He wrote that he

BIG HORN.

WHETSTONE AGENCY. |  
February 15th, 1870. |

L. F. HATHAWAY, Esq.

DEAR SIR.—Your communication dated on the 24th ult., was received during my absence from home, which accounts for the great delay.

I am intimately acquainted with the eastern slope of the Big Horn mountains from Powder river to Clark's Fork of the Yellow Stone river.

After leaving old Fort Phil Kearney, 60 miles north-west of Powder river, to Gallatin Valley, a distance of two hundred miles, there is not a valley that is not susceptible of the finest cultivation. Irrigation is entirely practicable on all the streams. I have but little faith in the "Big Horn mountains" in an auriferous point of view; but I do believe that the "Wolf" or "Panther" mountains through which the Tongue river passes, and from the base of the Big Horn mountains only distant thirty miles, (east,) are immensely rich, and to which locality I would respectfully call the attention of your association.

The Black Hills proper I also believe to be rich in minerals, particularly gold. I have no other evidence of the existence of gold in these two localities, than the reports of many hundreds of Indians, and the exhibition by them of numerous specimens of fine gold.

I would be pleased to write you again at an early day giving a more detailed description of the two ranges of mountains and more especially of the streams, having their source in the Big Horn mountains, their length, breadth, capabilities &c.

I will here take occasion to inform you of the concentration of about 1,000 lodges of Northern Sioux, Min-nie-ka-jas, Unk-pa-pa, Bad Faces and others, on the northeastern slope of the Black Hills; or about 175 miles west of Fort Sully. Their winter's hunt is over, and they are coming in for the purpose of trade, to again make demands from the government, and to watch the movements of your enterprise, formation of which they have gained from some source or other.

I beg of you to believe me, when I say that your entrance into the Big Horn, or Black Hill country will be the signal for the inauguration of one of the greatest Indian wars ever known. That war in time, is inevitably whether the country is developed or not.

We are with you here, and wish you every success; many of us (15 or 20) propose to join you at Cheyenne.

The Northern Sioux with whom you will have to contend, can easily muster 3,500 warriors.

Your obedient servant,  
JNO. W. SMITH

Smith's letter to Cheyenne citizens,  
*Cheyenne Daily Leader*, February 23, 1870.

had learned from his Indian friends that there was gold in the Black Hills but none in the Big Horns. He then warned: "I beg of you to believe me when I say that your entrance into the Big Horn or Black Hills country will be the signal for the inauguration of the greatest Indian war ever known."<sup>47</sup> A few years would pass before this prophecy was fulfilled, for the expedition, officially ordered to keep out of the Powder River country, veered west to the Big Horn Basin.

When Congress banned the use of army officers as Indian agents, J. M. Washburn replaced Capt. Poole as Whetstone agent in mid-November of 1870. Smith applied to him on January 7, 1871, for renewal of his license, this time under his own name. One of his bondsman was John A. ("Jack") Morrow, former road rancher on the Platte but now a prominent agency contractor. As employees, he retained Lester Pratte and added another old trader, Frank Salway (or Salois) and another of his own brothers, Michael Smith. Mike replaced Burns, who had left to set up his own harness shop in Yankton two months earlier.<sup>48</sup>

Spotted Tail, a far-seeing chief dedicated to the interests of his people, was by now showing an aptitude for handling officious bureaucrats. Having forced permission to move, he pointed out to Agent Washburn on June 24, 1871, the spot on Big White Clay Creek where he wanted a new agency built—far west of the hated Missouri. Once again, Smith won the profitable contract for moving the agency and its people.<sup>49</sup>

Up to this critical moment, John W. Smith, now aged forty-three, had not only prospered as an in-

dustrious business man, but had served his Indian friends well. But while he was snow-bound at the distant new agency, an event transpired that would consume his fortune and force him to start all over again.<sup>50</sup> The event was not of his own making, but he chose to more than honor the ties of blood to his brother Burns. The shocking front page of the *Yankton Press* for December 13, 1871, read:

This community was startled on Sun. morning [Dec. 10] last at learning of the sudden death by violence of Louis Jones, an aged colored man employed as cook at Doyle's restaurant, at the hands of a well-known citizen, Burns Smith.

Louis Jones, on the night of his death, had stopped in for a drink at a saloon on Broadway. About midnight a young woman named Florence Booth, who has been for some time engaged in the disreputable calling of keeping a house of prostitution just west of Broadway, entered the back door to purchase a box of cigars. While she waited at the door, Jones left for home by the back door, and in passing said, "Good evening, my dear." Florence was indignant at this familiarity and on her return to her domicile informed Mr. Smith, who soon came in; he left to chastise the offender, being under the demonstrated influence of liquor.

He entered Jones' house, finding him preparing for bed. Jones' wife testified that Smith struck her husband a heavy blow on the head with a stick of stove wood, which felled him to the floor, and then struck a number of additional blows as he lay there. She remained frozen with fear in her bed. Two boys, lodging in an adjoining room, returned to the house and found Jones lifeless on the floor. They promptly hunted up Deputy Sheriff Case, who, about 6 a.m. on Sunday, arrested Mr. Burns Smith in bed and held him in custody during the day.

That morning Dr. Wheelock held a coroner's inquest and with the aid of Dr. Wixon did a post mortem for the jury. After considerable testimony, the jury found death from blows by an unknown hand. Mrs. Jones then entered a complaint to Justice E. T. White and Burns was again arrested on the charge of murdering Jones and held until Tuesday morning, when a preliminary hearing was held and was still in progress as we went to press. . . .

Burns C. Smith never paid the penalty for this brutal and senseless crime. Brother John W. secured his release from jail on February 4, 1872, by posting \$20,000 bail bond. The indictment was several times quashed and renewed, until the prisoner was finally released by the April 1873 term of the Territorial Court.<sup>51</sup> A later employee, James Coleman, recalled that John W. had made \$50,000 in the Whetstone trade, but "most of this was used to clear his brother at Yankton, who had killed a negro in a quarrel."<sup>52</sup> Burns sank into near obscurity, surfacing briefly at Fort Abraham Lincoln in 1875 and at Forts Peck and Buford in 1876. At last notice he was running a saloon at Junction City, Montana, about 1880.<sup>53</sup>

As early as six months after this crime, rumors circulated that John W. would lose his profitable Whetstone tradership,<sup>54</sup> and the records show that Francis Yates secured the appointment by his application of June 14, 1872. John and Mike left to start over again as



WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

James Bordeau (Bordeaux)



NATIONAL ARCHIVES

*Mike Smith, wagonmaster. Picture made by William Illingworth, official photographer for the 1874 Custer expedition to the Black Hills.*

freighters, apparently in Texas and for an old partner, Al Leighton.

After the abandonment of Fort C. F. Smith back in 1878, Al and Jim Leighton and a still younger brother, Joseph, opened a store at Atlantic City, Wyoming, in the heart of the Sweetwater gold mines.<sup>55</sup> Their fortunes took a sharp upward turn in 1870, when Secretary of War William W. Belknap transformed the old army sutler controlled by post officers into a post trader, controlled by himself as a patronage racket.<sup>56</sup> One of his chief "influence" men was John M. Hedrick of Ottumwa, Iowa, a close friend of the Leightons. An arrangement was made whereby Al Leighton supplied the capital and management while silent partner Hedrick shared half the profits in return for wrangling sutler appointments.<sup>57</sup>

Thus Al secured a long-term post tradership at Fort Buford on October 6, 1870, and the next spring set up headquarters at that sizeable post at the mouth of the Yellowstone. He and Hedrick also obtained interests at Fort Fetterman, Wyoming, and Fort Griffen, Texas,

perhaps giving employment there to the Smith brothers. It was probably Leighton who advised them of expanding opportunities on the upper Missouri. The tracks of the Northern Pacific Railroad were approaching the river (they arrived June 4, 1873) and would soon boom the frontier town of Bismarck to a major transfer point for freight destined upriver, by steamboat in summer and by wagon in all seasons. Across the river on the west bank the small post of Fort Abraham Lincoln would expand to accommodate Gen. George A. Custer's regiment of 7th Cavalry. Influential Al Leighton was just the man to steer contracts to an old friend.

It is thus not surprising to find the first issue of the Bismarck Tribune of July 11, 1873, announcing:

Mike Smith's train passed through Bismarck yesterday for Fort A. Lincoln, consisting of 32 wagons, all new, and 300 mules. Smith sold out in Texas last winter, purchased a new outfit, expecting to accompany the expedition [the Stanley-Custer Yellowstone expedition], but was one day too late. He has the contract for handling the lumber for the cavalry post at Lincoln, amounting to nearly three million feet.

Another notice in the Yankton *Press* of July 30 added that "John W. Smith, formerly trader at Whetstone Agency, has a fat contract at Fort Lincoln, which employs 32 teams."

Making his headquarters at Bismarck, "Captain" John W. Smith on December 1 became a founding member of the Burleigh County Pioneers, organized to promote the city and vicinity.<sup>58</sup> He would thereafter enjoy this courtesy title, as did many a successful frontier entrepreneur. Al Leighton had already added freighting to his business and on a February 1874 visit to Bismarck is said to have bought out Smith's thirty-two wagons. It is more likely, however, that he merely contracted for Smith's services, for the next April the Sioux stampeded ninety of Smith's mules grazing within the shadow of Fort Lincoln. Custer, dashing in pursuit with three companies of cavalry, managed to recover the herd.<sup>59</sup>

While at Fort Lincoln that February, Leighton began negotiating for the post tradership, then held by absentee Samuel A. Dickey with Robert Wilson as resident manager and Jack Morrow (Smith's bondsman at Whetstone) sharing a one third interest. At this time Orlando Scott Goff, the post photographer, took a group picture of Smith, Leighton, Wilson and Morrow, which reveals the same curly-haired Smith that Lt. Ware had had photographed ten years before. With an assist from Custer and a trip to Washington, Leighton and Hedrick secured an interest in the Fort Lincoln tradership.<sup>60</sup>

Smith had earlier warned that any invasion of the Black Hills on the Sioux Reservation in search of the gold the Indians had assured him was there would provoke a major Indian war. By an irony of fate, he would become a member of the expedition that Gen. Custer led into the Hills in 1874, which featured two expert gold prospectors, for reasons never explained. The result would more than fulfill Smith's dire prophecy.

As expedition commander, Custer had the prerogative of appointing his own field sutler. With or without the influence of Al Leighton, Custer awarded the position to John W. Smith, who had been giving good service at his post. The happy appointee returned from a downriver trip to stock up on sutler wares on June 3, and on the 24th the local paper noted that "Captain John W. Smith goes to the Black Hills as purveyor; he will make some ducats."<sup>61</sup> Custer's quartermaster also hired Mike Smith as wagonmaster for the large supply train. William H. Illingworth, the busy expedition photographer, captured a likeness of Mike standing at the shoulder of his horse.

The expedition took the field on July 2 and at each camp John W. did a thriving business. Although liquor was especially popular, he also carried a variety of items to supplement unpalatable field rations and limited quartermaster supplies. To furnish hot delicacies, he even took along a cook, equipped with a little wagon of

her own. This was "Aunt Sally" Campbell, a generously proportioned black woman who had cooked for steam-boats for years. This experience enabled her to claim the honor of "being the first white woman that ever saw the Black Hills!"<sup>62</sup>

By August 2 the two prospectors, digging feverishly in the sand bars along Custer Gulch, had discovered promising colors "in the grass roots." Custer promptly sent this news by his scout "Lonesome Charley" Reynolds to the telegraph office at Fort Laramie.<sup>63</sup> Expedition civilians were already staking out a score of claims, Mike Smith taking "No. 1 below discovery." John W., immune to gold fever, staked no claim, but carefully observed every move of the prospectors. The most excited individual was Aunt Sally. Two reporters gave the list of claims staked, one assigning No. 7 below discovery to Sarah Campbell, the other claiming it for himself.<sup>64</sup>

The expedition returned on August 30 to find that its report of gold was whipping up intense excitement. Reporters eagerly interviewed expedition members, including Smith. As a veteran of years of travel on all sides of the Hills, he was so pestered by inquiries that he composed an essay on the various routes to the mines (implying he had come west in 1857). He also submitted a letter from Bismarck on September 21 to the *Omaha Herald* describing the Hills and the gold strikes. He ended it with another warning—that it would be madness to go to the new Eldorado before an adjustment of treaty obligations to the Sioux could provide legal access to their reservation.<sup>65</sup>

That fall of 1874 the Indian traders along the upper Missouri were all thrown into consternation by another patronage racket operated by Orvil Grant, the unemployed brother of the President. He ousted all incumbent Indian traders unless they paid him tribute. When the dust settled, Joe Leighton had the tradership at the Fort Peck Agency in Montana at the mouth of Milk River, with Orvil sharing his profits. Brother Jim soon pulled out, retiring at Ottumwa.<sup>66</sup>

This further expansion of the Leighton interests called for more freighting, which involved the Smith brothers as the *Bismarck Tribune* revealed. On November 11 it noted that Capt. Smith's train was departing with goods for Fort Buford, where a Leighton train would forward it to Fort Peck. On December 23 it quoted a letter from upriver Fort Berthold saying that a Leighton train in charge of Mike Smith had passed down through that agency on November 30.

It is not clear whether Smith's family was with him in Bismarck, but he revealed something about them in a letter he wrote from there on February 5, 1875, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

I respectfully ask that if—as one of the original white men inter-married with the Sioux many years prior to the Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1867 [1868], and who accompanied, the

following year, the large body of Sioux who were moved from Fort Laramie and North Platte, Neb., to the Whetstone Agency on the Missouri—I am entitled to locate a certain number of acres of land on the Sioux reservation on making proper application to the agent at White Clay Agency, the land to be used for agricultural purposes and for the benefit of my family, numbering five souls.

I will further state that my family is respectable—that we have seldom drawn an Indian ration—that we belong to the band of O-ga-lal-las at Spotted Tail's camp, and are well and favorably known to all the chiefs at that agency.

Can refer with confidence to Capt. D. C. Poole, agent at Whetstone in 1870, Dr. Nidelet who succeeded [preceded] Capt. Poole, and Maj. D. R. Risley; also Gen. Harney, for character.<sup>67</sup>

The illegal gold rush to the Black Hills was in full swing in July 1875, when Mike Smith succumbed to the lure. The *Tribune* noted his comings and goings from the mines for a year, after which he disappears from view. The same paper on July 21 reported that John W. was leaving with his wagon train to take over the post tradership at Fort Shaw, Montana, but a correction the next week said he had left for Fort Buford.

Smith had no tradership appointment, but he did freight all the way to Fort Benton. Agent William W. Alderson's diary at Fort Peck recorded that "John Smith's train from Bismarck" rolled into his agency on August 10, 1875, and two days later started on with a load of flour for the Fort Belknap Sub-Agency, located northwest on Milk River. There may have been a second trip during the agent's absence, but he was back in time to record Smith's (second?) return from Fort Belknap on November 2, and his departure two days later reloaded with goods for Forts Belknap and Benton.<sup>68</sup>

While spending the winter of 1875-76 in Montana, Smith could not have failed to perceive that his prophecy of a great Indian war was about to be fulfilled—but with another ironic twist. Though provoked beyond measure, the Sioux were exhibiting unprecedented restraint, the agency bands being preoccupied with the struggle for existence, while the roammers had retreated to the isolation of their unceded territory. But neither law nor army could hold white men from the gold-bearing Sioux Reservation, nor the Northern Pacific from aiming to cut a destructive swathe across the Indian hunting grounds. War was inevitable—not an Indian war, but a white war to seize both the Hills and unceded territory.<sup>69</sup>

Although the army mobilized in secret, operations could no longer be concealed when Gen. George Crook launched the first offensive from Fort Fetterman on March 1, 1876, hoping to destroy the roammers in their winter villages. Plans were being pushed to follow this with a three-pronged summer offensive, including Gen. Alfred H. Terry's Dakota column, featuring Gen. Custer's ill-fated 7th Cavalry.

John W. Smith, rarely absent when events of moment were brewing, sped from Fort Benton on March

10, proceeding by stage to Ogden, Utah, and then by a roundabout train journey to arrive at Gen. Terry's headquarters in St. Paul by March 30. There he won the appointment of field sutler to the Dakota column. Purchasing a partial stock of goods at St. Paul, he also arranged for Joe Leighton to supply more from Fort Buford and to bolster his financial resources. In announcing Smith's arrival at Bismarck on May 1 with this profitable appointment, the *Tribune* observed that "John W. deserves a good thing if any live man does."<sup>70</sup>

With James Coleman, former clerk at Fort A. Lincoln, and Fred Sweetman, former conductor for the Northern Pacific, as employees, Smith sutlered throughout the long and dismal campaign until September, when the three exhausted and frustrated columns headed for their home bases—whipped for the moment. Smith's wares had furnished the only antidote to the shock of Custer's disaster and the demoralization of the ensuing months of futile, self-punishing stern chases.

The story of Smith's sutler operations on that hapless campaign have already been told in detail.<sup>71</sup> Suffice it to say that the enterprise restored his prosperity and proved so satisfactory to the army commanders that he won one of three post traderships at the new cantonment on the Yellowstone that Gen. Nelson A. Miles was erecting at the mouth of Tongue River. Such appointments were monopolies, but the independent Miles had a flare for ignoring regulations.

On returning to Bismarck in September of 1876 for supplies to stock his new store, Smith paid a quick visit to the Sioux at Standing Rock Agency some miles down-river. There he gathered valuable information on the Indian side of the campaign just concluded, which he passed on to the editor of the local paper by October 4. It appeared in the *New York Herald* of October 13, then in the Bismarck *Tribune* of November 1. The article opened: "Capt. John W. Smith, a frontiersman of twenty years' experience [since 1856] and a trader to Terry's expedition, who speaks Sioux fluently, has returned from Standing Rock Agency to Bismarck and gives the following account of the Sioux campaign from what he considers reliable Indian sources." The lengthy story helps to clarify a number of obscurities of the campaign, especially on the movements and whereabouts of the Indians when they were proving so elusive.

Even before Smith could get back to Tongue River, the civil objectives of the war had been won, not by the army, but by Congress. It simply refused to allow one cent of the millions required to feed the agency Sioux to be spent until they signed away the Black Hills and unceded lands. The spectre of emaciated women and bloat-bellied children forced all the agency chiefs to capitulate by October 27. The roaming bands, however, were still wandering free on what had suddenly become white territory. Smith, as usual, would be present to see what the army did about this.

Smith and Sweetman left Bismarck with their new stock on October 17 aboard the *Josephine* to unload at Fort Buford because low water forced them to take to wagons.<sup>72</sup> Since a battalion of infantry was manning a camp at the mouth of Glendive Creek to forward mountains of supplies to Miles' Cantonment Tongue River, Smith dropped off men and goods there to operate a satellite store while he pushed on to Tongue River.

A regular correspondent at Fort Buford, who signed his dispatches "Rex," wrote on December 6:

We learn that Capt. J. W. Smith is very pleasantly located at Tongue River and is doing a fine business at that point and at Glendive, where he has a branch establishment. Messrs. Talbot and Sweetman are at the Tongue River store, and David Cruthers and Jimmy Coleman at the Glendive establishment.<sup>73</sup>

Talbot is unidentified, but David Crowther had been a clerk at Fort Peck, where he had served as acting agent during the absences of W. W. Alderson. He was destined nearly to lose his mind the next spring by wandering from a wagon train to starve for eighteen days alone in the wilderness.<sup>74</sup>

That winter at Tongue River Smith watched the energetic Gen. Miles lead his well-muffled infantry on repeated winter campaigns against the still roaming Sioux. These warriors had defeated and then eluded three armies the preceding summer, but they proved no match for a dozen companies of "walk-a-heaps" armed with "Long Tom" rifles. The general was grateful to his traders for providing his troops with fur caps and heavy underclothing his quartermaster could not supply. He did not name his traders, but one drew his wrath for selling his soldiers bad whiskey, clearly by context neither Smith nor Matt Carroll.<sup>75</sup>

The Balknap tradership scandal that had brought impeachment proceedings in 1876, was by now causing a turnover among post traders, again restored to the supervision of local officers. William D. O'Toole, a retired army officer, drew the appointment at Tongue River, but Smith, though forced off the reservation, would remain at Miles City. Al Leighton retired to Ottumwa, leaving Joe in charge of Fort Buford in partnership with Walter B. Jordan, who had married a Leighton sister. This pair apparently acquired some interest at Miles City, but whether Smith, or independent of Smith, is uncertain.<sup>76</sup>

In early March of 1877, Smith started for Bismarck to renew his stock, closing out his branch store at Glendive since that camp was scheduled for abandonment. Both he and newly-appointed O'Toole loaded their goods aboard the *Josephine*, which sailed as the first boat of the season on April 18.<sup>77</sup> Low water in the Yellowstone so delayed the boat that it and O'Toole did not tie up at Tongue River until May 23. Smith, however, had proceeded overland from Fort Buford to reach his destination weeks ahead of the boat.

There he found that Miles was out on a final campaign that destroyed Lame Deer's hold-out village on May 7, 1877, marking the operational end of the Sioux War. The harassed roamers were already surrendering at various posts and Smith noted a tidy village of Northern Cheyennes camped nearby, they having chosen to surrender to Miles on April 23. The general, again writing his own regulations, set up an "agency" of his own where he could see that his Indians received decent treatment.

A New York *Herald* reporter at Tongue River on May 12, 1877, interviewed Smith at length on the significance of the surrenders and the strength and intentions of the bands still out. When correspondent "Rex" read this at Fort Buford, he commented that "Capt. John W. Smith's knowledge of the Indian Character and his tribal strength, as shown in this interview, is not doubted by any resident of this country."<sup>78</sup> Regarding his own history, Smith told the *Herald* man:

I have lived on the extreme frontier for 21 years [since 1856]. 13 years of this time in the Sioux camps [1856-1868], both before and after the Sioux war broke out in 1855 [a "typo" for 1864?]—principally in Oglala and Brule camps on the Platte, Powder River and Republican country, but for the past four years [1873-77] principally in the Missouri River section.<sup>79</sup>

The Sioux War had no more than wound down than the remarkable flight of the Nez Perces took its place. This long-abused tribe broke from their reservation in Idaho under Chief Joseph, pursued by all troops stationed within striking distance of their incredibly successful flight. On September 18, 1877, Gen. Miles joined the pursuit with his force and by the end of the month had corralled them at the foot of the Bear Paw Mountains just north of the Missouri. A hard fight, followed by negotiations, led to the surrender of the dignified chief on October 6, and Miles returned to his post with his well-treated prisoners.

Smith, having left again for a new stock and a winter vacation in Bismarck, reached Fort Buford on the very day Miles' force had started out after the Nez Perces.<sup>80</sup> Learning of the numerous troop columns converging toward the Bear Paws, he decided that having missed few historic events on the northern plains, he would not miss this one. Correspondent "Rex" wrote at Fort Buford on October 5:

Capt. John W. Smith will not go east for some time, the movement of troops causing him to change his mind, and he has gone to meet the commands with a stock of goods that will no doubt be in great demand after the hard campaigning of the last month or two. Robert Little and Fred Fiegley went with Capt. Smith as assistants.<sup>81</sup>

Smith could have secured supplies on such short notice only from Leighton and Jordan at Fort Buford, a conclusion reinforced by the fact that Robert Little had been a Leighton employee for ten years. Smith headed for the scene on one of the several supply boats plying between Fort Buford and the troops up the Missouri.

From this profitable sortie he returned to Bismarck on November 5, aboard the last descending boat, the *Rosebud*. That winter he must have taken his new stock to Tongue River overland, for Matt Carroll rolled into Bismarck on March 11, 1878, to report that Miles City boasted ten saloons, and that "Capt. John Smith's opened with \$500 receipts the first night and has since run about \$200 a day."<sup>82</sup>

Perhaps this liquor palace was the ornate, two-story Cottage Saloon on Main Street that Smith owned for years with James Coleman as local manager. It did a thriving business with soldiers after each visit of the paymaster to the adjacent post, long since renamed Fort Keogh:

On these occasions the patronage was so large and so urgent that there was no time wasted in drawing beer. It was emptied into a couple of washtubs behind the bar and dipped up in the beer glasses in a continuous service, one shift filling the tubs and another emptying them. Such a thing as a "quiet" drink was impossible in the Cottage Saloon while payday lasted.<sup>83</sup>

With such thirsty customers, Smith was able to build an impressive mansion in Miles City, said to be the town's first.<sup>84</sup> This brought to a close his days as a fron-

tiersman. He now became a city dweller, a holder of public offices and a man of means with diverse interests in ranches, mines, business buildings and liquor parlors both in Miles City and Bozeman. In 1883, at age fifty-five, he married Miss Josephine Allen, of Michigan.<sup>85</sup> In the absence of evidence, either way, we can only have faith that his first half-breed Oglala wife had died after raising his respectable family.

According to James Coleman, Smith thus prospered for a decade or so before he suffered reverses and went downhill to die a pauper in Billings, Montana, in 1904 or 1905.<sup>86</sup>

But John W. Smith did witness one more tragic step in the reduction of the proud, free and self-reliant Sioux into dependent wards of the government. In 1889 open threats to repeat the punitive measures and deliberate starvation of 1876 forced the helpless Sioux to give up their reservation except for a few tribal enclaves just large enough to give each Indian family a small starving farm.<sup>87</sup> The Brule portion of this land agreement carries the signature: "John W. Smith, white, aged 61, incorporated into the tribe in 1868."<sup>88</sup>



Main Street of Miles City, Montana, 1880. Smith's "Cottage Saloon" is building pictured second from right.

WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

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# WYOMING'S FORT

## THE MARCH

Following the 1803 Louisiana Purchase, which ceded much of the West beyond the Mississippi, and compelled by the visionary geography of President Thomas Jefferson, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark<sup>1</sup> headed the Corps of Discovery to join two halves of a continent and girdle America from sea to sea. "The object of your mission," President Jefferson said in 1804 in his now familiar instructions to Lewis and Clark, "is to explore the Missouri River, and such principal stream[s] of it, as, by its course and communication with the water of the Pacific Ocean may offer the most direct and practicable water communication across this continent for the purposes of commerce."

In train, John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company trading posts dotted the plains and mountains as far as Astoria, Oregon, on the Columbia River,<sup>2</sup> while rival American and French Canadian fur traders similarly explored the land, coursing the North Platte route for two decades before a fort was established at the mouth of the Laramie River, to the convenience of trade, and to mark the South Pass, Sweetwater, Platte route which Robert Stuart and other Astorians laid out in returning to the states in 1812. Called the Great Medicine Road by Indians, the route became the Oregon Trail, splitting off in the west to California, Oregon, and Utah, as the lands of milk and honey tempting half a nation to perilous journey.<sup>3</sup> Over this trail more than 300,000 pilgrims trekked westward in the long history of emigrant progress from Fort Laramie,<sup>4</sup> the eastern Wyoming gate at the junction of the Laramie and North Platte rivers, to Fort Bridger, as the western Wyoming gate on Black's Fork of the Green River.

At President James Polk's urging, Congress, in May 1846,<sup>5</sup> passed legislation responsive to populist objectives

of westward expansion: "An Act to provide for raising a regiment of Mounted Riflemen, and for establishing military stations on the route to Oregon."<sup>6</sup> To Fort Laramie and Fort Bridger, east and west Wyoming gates, Platte Bridge Station was added in 1857 as a medial gate, and subsequently renamed Fort Casper [Casper] (1865-1867), before its abandonment to Fort Fetterman [Douglas] (1867-1882), as supply base and operations camp to the northern campaigns. To the north, Bozeman Trail protection was furnished beyond Fort Fetterman by Fort Reno [Sussex] (1866-1868) and Fort Kearny [Story] (1866-1868), the hated forts implanted in Red Cloud's hunting grounds, and closed down by Red Cloud through siege and treaty, and torch. To the south, the Overland Trail, Denver-Salt Lake City stage, and Lodge Pole Creek emigrant route stood protected by Fort Bridger as western portal and Fort Halleck [Elk Mountain] (1862-1866) as eastern portal; with Fort Steele [Rawlins] (1868-1886) and Fort Russell [Cheyenne] (1867; subsequently Warren Air Force Base) then added as Union Pacific line forts. And Fort Halleck then abandoned to Fort Buford/Sanders [Laramie] (1868-1882). While there were other forts in the Wyoming network, Washakie and McKinney [Buffalo] importantly, the Oregon Trail, Bozeman Trail, and Overland Trail forts are those the imagination seizes upon in conjuring up images of Anglo-Saxon incursion into the redlands of the west.<sup>7</sup>

Indeed, the address one now makes to Wyoming fort reliques is necessarily imaginative, or academic, a flight of fancy or a result of research. Were one, for example, to try to see again through the eyes and sensibilities of the former tenants of the Oregon Trail forts: Fort Laramie, National Historic Site, again the "Queen"

# LIBRARIES— OF INTELLECT

By Walter Edens

fort, regally tatterdemalion in restoration of Old Bedlam B. O. Q., the sutler's store, the guard house, the commanding officer's quarters, and again a mecca for pilgrims.<sup>8</sup> Bridger, State Historic Site inseparably identified with its rude beginnings in 1842 by Jim Bridger, mountain man, and its heyday with Judge William Alexander Carter, gentleman sutler,<sup>9</sup> whose store and warehouse stand in tidy repair, in compound with the Pony Express stables, the milk house, and a school built in 1866.<sup>10</sup> Caspar, most wholly "restored" fort, in the civic rebuilding of the Platte River Station, log-on-log, ground up.<sup>11</sup> And Fetterman, State Historic Site—"It was a hateful post; in summer hell; in winter, Spitzbergen"<sup>12</sup>—still less restored than ruined, raffishly perched above the notorious off-limits Hog Ranch site the troopers eagerly waded the North Platte shallows to reach.

And were one to visit the Bozeman Trail forts unaided by dreams or diagrams, nothing shows now of Reno<sup>13</sup> beyond the basalt shaft commemorating the utter desolation of the design to abet gold seekers and fend off Indians.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, Colonel Henry B. Carrington's Fort Kearny installation, imperiled in the Fetterman Massacre and Wagon Box Fight, brought low at last by Red Cloud, and redeemed now only in the flush toilets of Federal design, and the panoramic plaques of what once was.<sup>15</sup>

And along the Overland Trail, one seeking Fort Halleck today finds only its basalt marker in the empty field—although the recollections of Dr. J. H. Finfrock,<sup>16</sup> Fort Halleck post surgeon, 1863-1865, and the homely letters of Franklin Tubbs,<sup>17</sup> Co. K, II O.V.C., Fort Halleck, still enliven what otherwise is dead and gone. Or to Fort Steele, where time's vagaries, chance winds,

and casual fire have reduced all but the sturdy little stone magazine, standing alone on a hill top, with only the tenants of the nearby graveyard to bear witness to what was. Or Fort Sanders, tumbled, plundered, and reduced to the present guard house shell and tottering laundry wall.<sup>18</sup>

What use, even of fort buffs, to visit any of the tattered and crumbled fort properties, those graced as national and state monuments or those neglected and disgraced. Unless the walk-about itself might discover a rusted nail or a bit of purpled glass, or might disclose the situational values of fort life and the pervasive mentality of fort architecture:<sup>19</sup> architecture achieved in localized issues of water, wood, and width, preferably in a high or open scan of the countryside, with ready timber and abundant game, and patches for grubbing potatoes or daring a rose garden, and respite allowed from despair and hostility with regular whiskey and occasional women. Or cards, or billiards, or fishing. Or target practice,<sup>20</sup> or close-order drill, or forced marches, or bivouac. Or a newspaper, magazine, or book for those so disposed, and capable of reading.<sup>21</sup>

Fool's errand, perhaps, to ask about the furniture of a soldier's mind, apart from rituals of eating, sleeping, marching, intent of shooting, relapse of drinking and gambling, release of fornicating. But the costs of isolation and adversity are the measurably exaggerated expenses of the social contract, honored or breached. And subtler inquiry always asks the price of alienation and cultural loss. Where Indian affairs<sup>22</sup> and settlement issues were predominant concerns in frontier fort existence, what cultural affinities did isolated fort Americans keep with the general citizenry? What dreams underlay the deeds, what words scored the

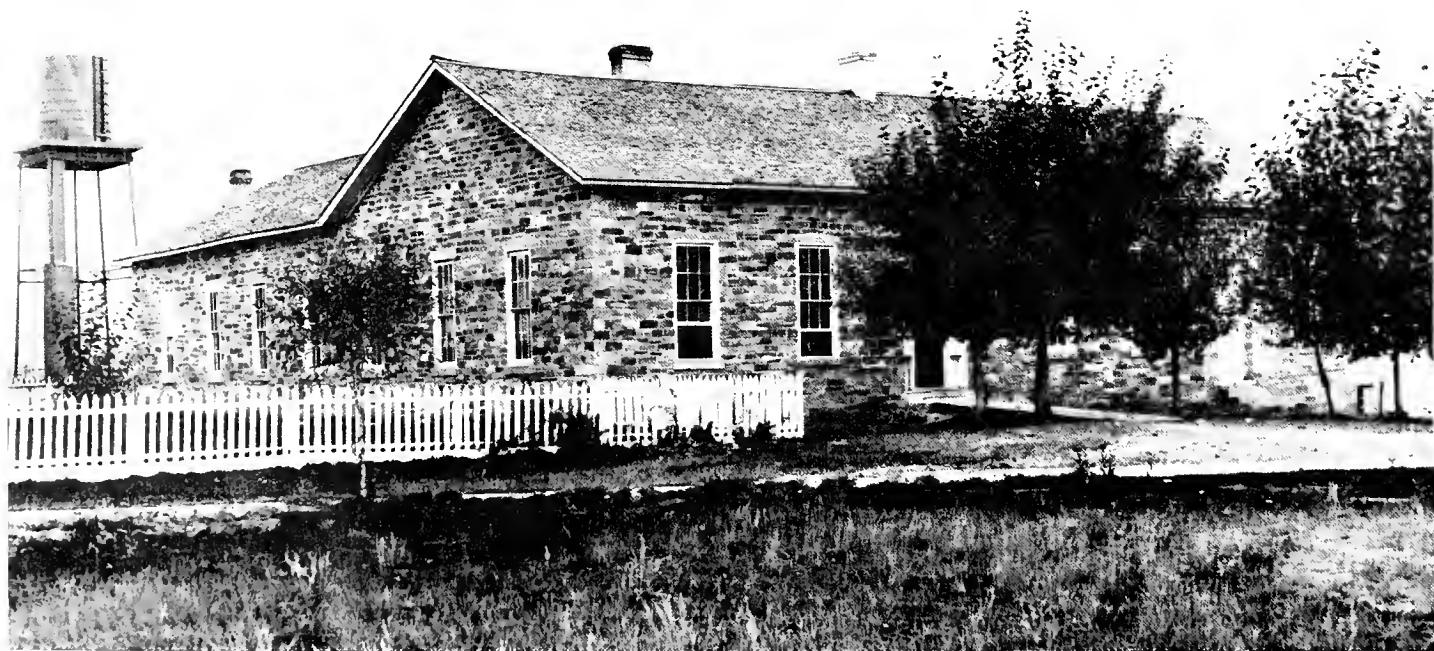
meanings? What did soldiers do, think, feel—read, when primacy of experience yielded to reflection?

Early and wisely, the questions were referred to the post surgeons, frontier emissaries of the sort President Jefferson must have envisioned in charging Lewis and Clark with matters geological, meteorological, botanical, mathematical, political, and sociological in accounts to be kept.<sup>23</sup> Solicited in 1870 by the Surgeon General's Office as human resources inventories of the new fort character, active and reflective, the fort surgeon reports both give and gauge the living character of Wyoming forts.

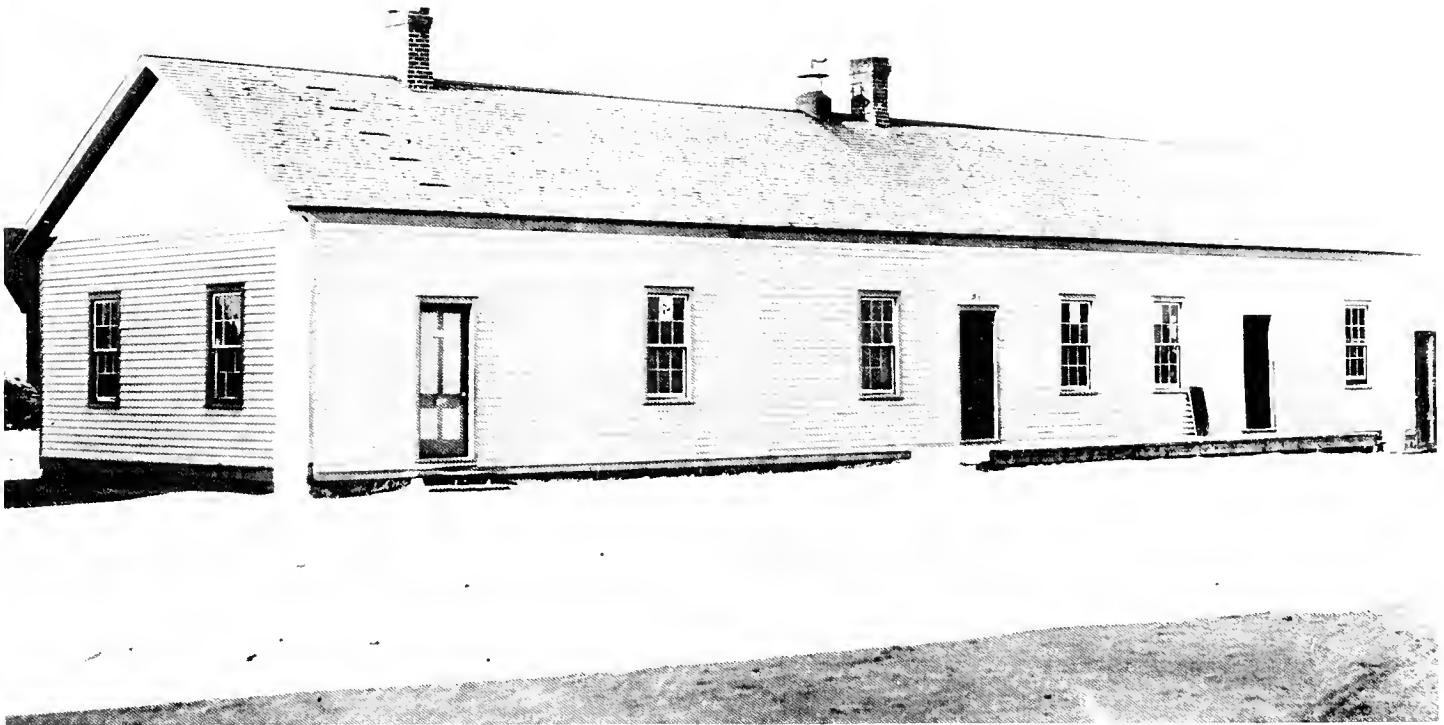
For historical and sociological commentary, the report of Assistant Surgeon H. S. Schell, Fort Laramie, Wyoming Territory, 1870, is invaluable, if at some points the language appears expansive, at times stagey.<sup>24</sup> Key to this inquiry into the westward march of intellect is Schell's observation, "There is a post library in the adjutant's office containing about 300 old, nearly worn-out books; a number of papers and periodicals are subscribed for<sup>25</sup> from the post fund<sup>26</sup> and kept in the library room, to which the enlisted men have access. The hospital library also comprises about 300 volumes, a majority of which are religious works."

A report of the same period from Assistant Surgeons S. Mackin and F. Le Baron Monroe, Fort Fetterman, is similarly informative, in geography, geology, and history, as well as containing specific references to the post's character physically and humanistically: "The post library numbers about 250 volumes," the report observes, "and is kept in a room assigned for that purpose. The books are as good a selection as could be expected in so small a collection."<sup>27</sup> Elsewhere the report comments, "The mails are received and sent once a week; the escort from Fort Fetterman meeting the [Fort] Laramie party and exchanging mail-bags."

The report of Assistant Surgeon W. E. Waters, Fort Bridger,<sup>28</sup> provides the physical and cultural data of that place: "Of the eleven barrack buildings only six are used as quarters for the men. Two are occupied by laundresses,<sup>29</sup> one as adjutant's office, schoolroom,<sup>30</sup> and library, another as guard house, and the third as shops for mechanics, carpenters, and wheelwrights. . . . There is but a small library belonging to the post,<sup>31</sup> consisting of works of history, some of the standard novels, school books, etc. . . . There is a daily mail from both East and West. . . ."<sup>32</sup>



*Building at Fort Washakie served as library, school and gymnasium.*



WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

*Fort D. A. Russell Library, date of photograph unknown.*

In like descriptions, Surgeon J. H. Frantz reports from Fort Sanders: "The Union Pacific Railroad . . . completed to this point late in the spring of 1868 . . . to the incorporated town . . . the city of Laramie, exempt from military authority, but within the reservation . . . a town of about 1,000 inhabitants." Respecting the fort facilities, Frantz comments, "There is no post library," an omission perhaps explicable in the presence of the City of Laramie Literary and Library Association. "There being a railroad station at the post, daily meals are received and sent regularly," Frantz concludes.<sup>33</sup>

In-kind reports from other fort surgeons augment the evidence and amplify the argument that post-Civil War fort facilities gave access to newspapers, magazines, and books, taking off the onus of frontier isolation and reassimilating fort existence to the ideological patterns of general American existence. In newspaper circulation, in magazine runs, and in library acquisition of book titles, more and more nearly in the time frames of their publication, the cultural gaps close. The generalizations affirm a westward march of intellect.

In the way that important findings are often fortuitous, it is the merest fluke that a specific-laden time frame to fort reading has been preserved, by chance surviving the usual reduction of paper to flake and ash. Perhaps saved as a "collectable," a specimen of florid calligraphy, the Fort Laramie "Day Book"<sup>34</sup> carefully inventories the library collection of 1877, a medial date between the Civil War and the shutting down of Fort

Laramie in 1890. The Day Book shows by title and author 485 volumes,<sup>35</sup> alleged in old holdings and reflected in new purchases, books in circulation to an aggregate 923 registered patrons of fort and locale residence.<sup>36</sup> In degree of care and extent of knowledge, the meticulous Day Book accountings suggest the assistant librarian praised by Major Dye in 1866, and recommended then to a "20 cents per day" compensation. If indeed the keeper of these accounts is that very person, his character as librarian deserves psalmody and pension.

As catalogue,<sup>37</sup> the Fort Laramie Day Book enumerates books collected to that library, and as analogue the data alleges what was collected in other fort libraries in similar delivery systems of military design, and within approximate time frames. In itself, or in comparison, the use of the Day Book is not meant to attach a chronometer to fort reading, but to find a cultural index, of reasonable latitudes between receipt and reading of books.<sup>38</sup>

In order of frequency of titles, the Day Book shows categories of literature (fiction primarily; major figures, e.g. Duyckinck's Shakespeare; children's books; "Little Classics" and "Passion Flowers" as pretty 19th Century redactions); history (social and intellectual in large; military in less; "natural history" and "science" in little); biography (as well as autobiography and memoirs); travel (and exploration); theology/philosophy (as homiletics); reference (encyclopedic and practical);

and, surprisingly, little or no "military merchandise," these goods being stored abundantly elsewhere with the keepers of manuals and records.

The categories literature/fiction, history, and biography/autobiography approximate 40%, 30%, 20% respectively of the diffuse Day Book listings, and acquire time-framing according to these categories, with some throw-in oddments of general reader interest. In literature/fiction James Fenimore Cooper in nine titles (1820-1847), Washington Irving in seven titles (1820-1855), and Nathaniel Hawthorne in eight titles (1828 - c. 1864; and posthumously) represent early American authors whose works no doubt went ragged in re-readings among the fort set, and to require replacements by the time of the Day Book reckoning.<sup>39</sup> However, William Dean Howells, *Italian Journeys* (1867) and *Chance Acquaintance* (1873) and Bret Harte, *Tales of the Argonauts* (1875), *Gabriel Conroy* (1876), and *Thankful Blossom* (1877) were in-season acquisitions attesting the currency of the collection.

From a group of lessers, Louisa May Alcott, *Rose in Bloom* (1876) and Thomas Bailey Aldrich, *Story of a Bad Boy* (1870), *Marjorie Daw* (1873), and *Prudence Palfrey* (1874) went fresh to adolescent and lovelorn reading sets.

Distaff distresses came from Mrs. Zadel (Barnes) Buddington, *Can the Old Love* (1871), Mrs. Maria Elizabeth (Jourdan) Westmoreland, *Heart Hungry* (1872), Mrs. Mary Louisa (Stewart) Molesworth [pseud. Ennis Graham], *Not Without Thorns* (1873), Mrs. Katherine Sarah (Gadsden) McQuoid, *A Charming Widow; or, Wild as a Hawk* (1874), and Mrs. Lilian (Headland) Spender, *Jocelyn's Mistake* (1875).

Social and domestic sketches came from Gail Hamilton (Mary Abigail Dodge), *Woman's Wrongs* (1868) and *Twelve Miles from a Lemon* (1874), Mary Clemmer Ames, *His Two Wives* (1874), following her celebrated *Hans Brinker*, and Bessie Turner, *A Woman in the Case* (1875), along with fillips from such as Mary Elizabeth (Mapes) Dodge, *Theophilus and Others* (1876), as strictly up to date as Kansas City, or other cultural centers with which the frontier west was reassimilated by postal delivery and railway express.

Shakespeare, certainly, and Henry Fielding, Tobias Smollett, Lawrence Sterne, and Samuel Johnson likely were British/American re-print figures, as probably were Sir Walter Scott in twenty-five titles (1815-1832), William Harrison Ainsworth in seventeen titles (1834-c. 1860), and Charles Dickens in fifteen titles (1836-1865, though a dog-eared Scott, Ainsworth, or Dickens might have known decades of readers at Fort Laramie.

With George Eliot in four titles (1862-1874), Wilkie Collins in twelve titles (1854-1873),<sup>40</sup> and Anthony Trollope in twelve titles (1859-1874) Fort Laramie readers would likely have enjoyed these works concurrently, simultaneously with the large body of English/American

readers.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, the listing of Charles Reade, *A Woman Hater* (1874), Ouida (Marie Louise De La Ramee), *In a Winter City* (1876), and Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, *Tales from Two Hemispheres* (1877), indicate the contemporaneity and cosmopolitanism of the Fort Laramie Day Book readership, closing the culture gap.<sup>42</sup> Add Alphonse Daudet, Alexander Dumas, and Victor Hugo as continentals popular in translation in the 1860s and 1870s, reflected in some dozen listings of their works, along with naughty George Sands (Mme. A.L.A.D. Dudevant) in four titles.

In a flow of history the Fort Laramie collection offered David Hume, *History of England* (six volumes 1754, in reprint), George Bancroft, *History of the United States* (ten volumes, 1834-1874), Gibbon's *Fall of Rome*, ed. Rev. H. H. Milman (five volumes, 1845), George Grote, *History of Greece* (twelve volumes, 1846-1856), Thomas A. Macaulay, *History of England* (five volumes, 1848-1855), Sir Edward Shepherd Creasy, *Decisive Battles of the World* (1852), Thomas Y. Rhoads, *Battlefields of the Revolution* (1854), John Lothrop Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (three volumes, 1856) and his later *John of Barneveld* (two volumes, 1874), Alexander Kinglake, *Invasion of the Crimea* (three volumes, 1863-1868, of eight volumes, 1863-1887), John William Draper, *Intellectual Development of Europe* (1863), William Swinton, *Decisive Battles of the War* (1871), Henry Hallam, *The Middle Ages* (1873), Thomas Budd Van Horne, *History of the Army of the Cumberland* (two volumes, 1875), and sixteen titles in the 1870 "historical" biography series of John Stevens Cabot Abbot, for example, *Alexander the Great*, *Hernando Cortez*, and *Mary Queen of Scots*.

In another time-framing there are the biography/autobiography listings of the Day Book, including such sturdy backbone works as would have given early spine to the Fort Laramie collection, along with histories bought or donated<sup>43</sup> to the uses of the fort clientele.

Representatives of these Day Book entries are Alexander Slidell McKenzie, *Life of Commodore Perry* (1841) and *Life of Paul Jones* (1841); Samuel Mosheim Schmucker, *Life of Dr. E. K. Kane* (1857); Robertson's *Charles the Fifth*, ed. William Hickling Prescott (three volumes, 1857); General Randolph Barnes Marcy, *Prairie Traveler* (1859) and *Army Life on the Border* (1866); Charles Burdett, *Life of Kit Carson* (1862); Francis Parkman, *Oregon Trail* (1849; in reprint) and *The Discovery of the West* (1869); John Wein Forney, *Anecdotes of Public Men* (1873); Munsell Bradhurst Field, *Memories of Many Men and Some Women* (1874); General Joseph Eggleston Johnston, *Johnston's Narrative* (1874); General William Tecumseh Sherman, *Memoirs* (two volumes, 1875); Frederick Whittaker, *The Life of General George A. Custer* (1876).

And in a miscellany of Day Book travel pieces one senses the time-framed desires of frontier readers to stir, to go home again: John Ross Brown, *Crusoe's Island* (1864), *American Family in Germany* (1866), *Land of Thor* (1867), *Apache Country* (1869); Samuel Adams Drake, *Nooks and Corners of the New England Coast* (1875); George Hughes Hepworth, *Starboard and Port* (1876); Eugene Schuyler, *Turkistan* (1876); Charles Dudley Warner, *In the Levant* (1877), the beckoning east.

Too much shelf reading is hard on the eyes and blunts the senses. This study scans some two hundred titles in the Fort Laramie library. Let it suffice, the Day Book indexing, taken along with newspaper and magazine data, approximates frontier reading to that of the country at large. In the attainment of Jefferson's dream of a sea-to-sea America, the early privations of frontier existence record a history of their own, but post-Civil War times ameliorated and acculturated the frontier character.

With the crushing of the Sioux and the annihilation of the herds which supported them, Wyoming was readied for cattle, timber, and mining interests. Wyoming forts became anachronisms, and troopers impatiently awaited their release home. The principal Fort Laramie library was crated to Fort Robinson, Nebraska, November 30, 1889,<sup>44</sup> and the fort buildings were sold at public auction, April 19, 1890. The books were closed.

1. Wyomingites continue to tease themselves about the character, the role, and even the burial place of the Indian "Bird Woman," Sacajawea, called "Janey" by William Clark, and whose invaluable services to the Corps of Discovery made her a folk heroine. [See Grace Hebard, *Sacajawea*, Glendale, California 1933.]
2. Washington Irving's *Astoria* (1836) popularized the story of Astor's Northwest fur trade.
3. An "Oregon Trail" 50-cent piece struck May 17, 1926, commemorated the death of an estimated 20,000 emigrants who perished on the 2,000 mile road from Missouri to their California-Oregon-Utah destinations.
4. Named after fur trade representatives and called Fort William [Sublette] from 1834-1841 and Fort John [Sarpy] from 1841-1849, when made a military fort, Fort Laramie (1849-1890) carried its familiar name throughout, for Jacques La Ramee, who trapped the area after 1820, and for the river which took his name. First passage through was by traders, adventurers, and missionaries, with a sizeable party of covered-wagon emigrants then seen in 1840, followed by resolute Mormons in migration to Utah after 1846, and peak numbers of pilgrims during and after the California gold rush of 1849, in steady procession before the advent of the railroad in 1868, then in diminishing number, and with a single last wanderlust wagon reported through in 1912, decades late. Among those taking refuge at early-day Fort Laramie, Father De Smet recorded his visit in 1840, Lt. John Fremont took his account in 1842, and Francis Parkman, his in 1846. The heedless, birds of passage, hurried across Wyoming in thirty days, leaving only their refuse and wheel ruts. An early-on account of the astonishing flow of

Anglo-Saxon energy released by President Jefferson is wonderfully preserved in the paintings of Alfred Jacob Miller, artist to William Drummond Stewart during the Scotsman's six-month expedition in 1837. Several paintings commissioned by Stewart from Miller's on-site sketches are in the possession of the University of Wyoming, and can be viewed in the Grace Raymond Hebard Room, Coe Library. For the history of these remarkable representations of Fort Laramie, then Fort William, as Miller painted and preserved it, see Robert Warner, *The Fort Laramie of Alfred Jacob Miller*, Unpublished American Studies M.A. Thesis, University of Wyoming, 1973. Born and raised near old Fort Fetterman, Warner was instrumental in securing the Alfred Jacob Miller collection to the University of Wyoming.

5. Only with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the settlement of the Mexican War (1846-1848) could the wish of President Polk and the will of Congress be fulfilled in the creation of the proposed defenses, beginning with the militarization of Fort Laramie, 1849, as the oldest in the Wyoming fort system.
6. How long lived the jubilation over President Polk's decision can be guessed in the observation of a chapter entitled "Civilization Succeeds Barbarism," Alfred James Mokler, *Fort Caspar*, Casper, Wyoming 1939, p. 64, ". . . to protect the emigrant and to reclaim this part of the country from a wandering, roving, nomadic savage race, to a civilized, progressive, industrious people who have builded cities, improved the land, and developed industries in this Rocky Mountain Country." Remembering the 10,000 year residency of the Indians, one might ponder what the newly arrived Americans meant to claim, reclaim, or disclaim.
7. Comprehensive picture studies of Wyoming forts then and now can be seen in the F775 archival listings, as well as in the many excellent photographs contained in the Merrill Mattes Collection, Number 120, and Robert A. Murray Collection, Account Number 160, University of Wyoming Archives.
8. An estimated 150,000 visitors annually prowl the Fort Laramie grounds, josh the "sutler" and be joshed, eat an old recipe army bread, and see the colors trooped.
9. Like Fort Laramie's Virginia-born sutler John Hunton, William Carter brought a gentle mien to the frontier, making Bridger an island in the wilderness in the long time of his refining influence, 1857-1881. He was perceived in 1867 by a stage traveler as having acquired for himself ". . . a comfortable house, an estimable wife, several daughters (most of them East at school), a fine piano, and library and everything that is to be found in residences. He is a Virginian by birth, tall, spare, flaxen-haired, gentleman, with light flowing beard and mustache. Evidently a gentleman of much more than ordinary culture and character." [Alexander Kelly McClure, *Three Thousand Miles Through the Rocky Mountains*, Philadelphia, 1869, p. 149; quoted in Fred R. Gowans and Eugene E. Campbell, *Fort Bridger Island in the Wilderness*, Provo, Utah, 1936, p. 147.]
10. The first "school" in Wyoming was conducted at Fort Laramie in 1852, with the Reverend Richard Vaux, post chaplain, engaged by the fort officers to educate their children. Miss Fanny Foote was engaged by Judge Carter in 1860 as governess, and factotum schoolteacher to the six Carter children, two girls and two boys born at Fort Bridger, and other children of the fort. [See Alan Culpin, "A Brief History of Social and Domestic Life Among the Military," *Annals of Wyoming*, Spring, 1973, pp 93-108.]
11. For fifteen years curator-caretakers of Fort Caspar's mixed collections, Bill Judge and his wife wait for tourist numbers to approach an annual figure of 100,000. See Bill Judge, *Old Fort Caspar*, Casper, Wyoming, [n.d.].
12. So observed John Finerty, *Chicago Times* correspondent after the closing of Fort Fetterman in 1882; incorporated in Phil McAuley, *Casper Star Tribune* article, October 6, 1963, on restora-

tion of Fort Fetterman, which had lapsed into sheep sheds. Today's visitor to Fort Fetterman and its hill-top cemetery is assisted by Sharon Lass Field's *Fort Fetterman's Cemetery*, Cheyenne, Wyoming, 1970. Her father, a lank, ageless cowboy, raconteur, major-domo, alleges that his father was the building contractor for Fort Fetterman.

13. An interesting reanimation of Reno can be had from the writings of Alson B. Ostrander, a graduate of Poughkeepsie Commercial College, enlisting then from New York, in 1864, as a Music Boy in General Service, assigned first as trooper at Fort Reno and as clerk at Fort Kearny, becoming aide-de-camp to General Philip St. George Cooke and rising to major. A champion of Jim Bridger, who gave him a tobacco pouch in 1867 at Fort Kearny, Ostrander spoke for the illiterate, leaving his personal descriptions to serve those who were unable to indite. "As to diaries," Ostrander wrote Dr. Hebard, April 6, 1929, "I do not know of any enlisted man, aside from myself, that kept one." [University Archives, B-OS7-ab.] In *An Army Boy of the Sixties* (1923) and *Sixty Years After* (1925) Ostrander lauds rank-and-file soldiering and re-visits old haunts.
14. The verso of the gold coin of Anglo-Saxon protection predictably showed punishment of recalcitrant Indians. Many of Fort Reno's casual "artifacts" are on display in the well-ordered Buffalo, Wyoming, museum, in the Turk and Frison collections.
15. Any trip to beautiful Story, Wyoming, with its complex of restaurants, including the Wagon Box Restaurant, is self-justifying.
16. Whatever he should think of the set menu, Dr. Finfrock would undoubtedly enjoy the celebrity of having one of the finest restaurants of Laramie, Wyoming, named for him. Leaving Fort Halleck in 1865, Dr. Finfrock then resided in Laramie City, moving in its best social and literary circles: ". . . a member from its inception, in 1870, of the Wyoming Literary and Library Association . . ." and subsequently Library Director in a downtown office: "Open at all hours of the day and evening, except Sundays. More than a thousand volumes of well selected books, and a good supply of standard periodical literature." [J. H. Finfrock Collection, Account Number 7, Folder Number 2; B-F494-jh, University of Wyoming Archives.] In a separately profitable connection as "Finfrock and Thobro Eagle Pharmacy," 2nd Street, Dr. Finfrock was purveyor of "Fine Drugs, Medicine, Perfumery, Oils, Fancy and Toilet Articles, Paints . . . and Glass."
17. The 73 letters of Franklin Tubbs, February 4, 1864–February 21, 1866, to his family give the portrait of a dutiful son, an 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalryman on assignment to the carpenter's shop at Fort Halleck, a part-time collector of birds for the Smithsonian, and full-time witness to the cruelties and tediums of frontier military isolation. He consoles himself on May 1, 1865, "We take the Denver paper and get all of the news so it makes it more plesent to get all of the news. We take it Daly," but he groused on May 9, 1865, "We do not get our mail very regular not half as regular as we did at [Fort] Laramie I do not know what is the mater for the stage passes dally but I don't think we will stay heer long I think we will go towards the states by the new that we get we got the new of Shermans Army Marching home." [Franklin Tubbs Collection, Number 2787, University of Wyoming Archives.] While yearning for home, and apologizing in every letter for his shortcomings as a writer, Franklin Tubbs is a splendid example of filial devotion and military fitness, a prime recruit in a period still heavily marked by the renegade behavior, irresponsibility, and illiteracy in the ranks of pre-Civil War recruits.
18. My interest in fort leisure and reading habits began years ago when I acquired at local auction an inlaid cribbage box, signed "Geo. W. Mc Fadden, Laramie, Wyo. Terr., Aug. '75,"

Twain's *Connecticut Yankee*, and Stanley's *In Darkest Africa*, authenticated cultural artifacts of Fort Sanders, though little then remained of the fort itself as cultural matrix.

19. General George A. Forsyth, *The Story of a Soldier*, New York, 1900, pp. 102-103, gives the classic architecture: "The officers' line of quarters is one side of the parade ground, as the inclosed space is named. It consists of a row of small cottages containing from three to four rooms. On the opposite side are the enlisted men's barracks, several long, low, one-storied, solid-looking log buildings with porches in front, and behind them are the mess houses, similar in design, but smaller. In the centre of the parade ground a somewhat imposing structure is known as the post commander's house. On the third side is the neat little administration building, containing the various administrative offices, flanked by warehouses in which are stored quartermaster and subsistence stores. On the fourth is the sombre-looking guardhouse, small but strong. On an open space between the guardhouse and the end of the officers' row an old field piece or two, rotting with rust and dust, point at the horizon.
- "A little distance off on the plateau, standing by itself, is the hospital; and likewise apart, in an unobtrusive manner, is the trader's or sutler's store, which, until the establishment of the canteen a few years ago, was the soldier's lounging place. Down upon the bank near to the water's edge the cavalry and the quartermaster's stables stand in a row, and not far from them are the wagon sheds and the various shops where the manual labour of the garrison is performed."
20. Notwithstanding the quarter-of-a-century long punctuation to Fort Laramie's turbulent history in incessant firing at everything stationary or moving, Commanding Officer Col. John Smith followed protocol in writing the Adjutant General, United States Army, Washington, August 13, 1873, "I have the honor to request to be furnished with 6 copies of Heth's Target Practice for use at this Post." [File Book, Fort Laramie.]
21. In common with the greater number of early trappers, traders, bullwhackers, and freighters, the pre-Civil War troopers, with some noteworthy exceptions may be generalized as a moribund lot, dying generations of the non-schooled, renegades, and adventurers, cunning though unlearned, in primal struggle for survival, and, rarely, supremacy. The Civil War agonies of death and regeneration delivered new social contracts and heightened human expectations. If the condition of the pre-Civil War recruit was one of illiteracy, assuaged and corrected in appropriate awards and inducements, the condition of the post-Civil War recruit was generally that of literacy, marginal with some, magnificant with others. For broad purposes, one may dismiss the question of soldier readership before the mid-1860s, excepting the officers, presumed literate, however avid. The "new" rank and file army drew men from many walks; of national origin the United States first, Ireland second, Germany third, England fourth, and Canada fifth. The nativity of men who enlisted in the United States Army from January 1, 1865, to December 31, 1874, was as follows: United States 96,066; Ireland 38,649; Germany, 23,127; England, 9,037; Canada, 4,703 – proportionate numbers of whom drew frontier duties, including re-tread Rebels, dubbed "Galvanized Yankees," and the famous Buffalo Soldiers, as Indians called Blacks. Indeed frontier existence gave flux to the disparate elements of which the American is the fusion. [House Report No. 354, 44th Congress, 1st Session (1876), p. 228; quoted in Ray H. Mattison, *The Army Post on the Northern Plains*, 1865-1885, Gering, Nebraska, 1965, p. 20.] On no real evidence, Phil Roberts, research historian, Historical Research and Publications Division, WSAMH, good humorously noted that "German sounding" names frequently appeared on the checkout lists. More persuasive is his recent article "Footsore on

the Frontier," *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, March 13, 1979, describing the many discomforts produced in wearing army issue boots of the 1860s and 1870s, and putting to rest the myth of "the frontier soldier as a cavalryman mounted on a swift Army-regulation brown horse [where] truth is that infantry regiments were as common as cavalry companies at the frontier posts."

22. Deterring "abbri-goins," the corrupted reference to Indian aborigines, was the first business, of course. Whether by battle, "Annuity," or agrarian re-training, the dilemma remained whether to bring the Indians down by firepower or bring them over by Christian suasions. In the inevitable wagon lightening which strewed household goods, furniture, foodstuffs, and expendables along a 2,000 mile trail, the family Bible was religiously preserved as the good book to quote from.
23. See Everett Dick, *Vanguards of the Frontier*, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1965, p. 93: "The government asked the officers to do various tasks aside from technical military duty. The doctor was required to operate a weather bureau, that is, to keep a rain-gauge and make reports on the climate, and the flora and fauna — when the last killing frost occurred in the spring and the first in the autumn; the first appearance of various birds in the spring; observations on meteors, hurricanes, lightning, and other meterological and botanical information."
24. Referring to personal outer garments against the bitter winters, Schell remarks, "A few of the men have buffalo robes. The most of them are faint to protect themselves against the rigor of the winter by eking out their scanty covering with their overcoats." [H. S. Schell, Assistant Surgeon, "Fort Laramie," U. S. War Department, Surgeon General's Office, Circular No. 4, December 5, 1870.]
25. From the Fort Laramie File Book there is a rush of newspaper and magazine titles, in a ten-year ordering, 1879-1889: *New York Graphic Illustrated*, *Washington Capitol*, *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, *Omaha Daily Republican*, *Chicago Daily Times*, *New York Daily Herald*, *New York Daily Times*, *Army and Navy Register*, *Harper's Weekly*, *London Weekly Illustrated*, *New York Weekly*, *Spirit of the Times*, *London Weekly Graphic*, *Nation*, *Detroit Free Press*, *North American Magazine*, *Harper's Monthly*, *Scribner's*, *Atlantic*, *Popular Science*, *Ditson's Musical Magazine*, *Appleton's Weekly*, *London Monthly*, *Colbeson's United Service Magazine*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Puck*, *Baltimore American*, *Fireside Companion*, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Monthly*, *New York Staats-Zeitung*, *Scientific American*, *Tosca's Siftings*, *Inter-Ocean*, *St Louis Globe Democrat*, *Kansas City Daily Times*, *Cincinnati Enquirer*. In such unalphabetized tumbling, one can sense the urgency and variety of reading interests gratified, at Fort Laramie and throughout the Wyoming fort network. Close inquiry into these periodicals, in regular supply to fort readers, men and women, would provide exact time and topic minutiae to a cultural affinity study.
26. General Orders No. 22, April 7, 1866, of the Adjutant General's Office, stipulated that, for the privilege of trade enjoyed, the post sutler was required to pay into the post fund a rate not exceeding 10 cents a month for every officer and enlisted man serving at the post, the fund, in part, to secure the establishment of a library and the purchase of newspapers. Additionally, Major William McEntire Dye, Fort Laramie Commanding Officer (1868-1869) wrote the Adjutant General, December 3, 1968, "I . . . respectfully request, that authority be given to pay 20 cents per day to the Assistant Librarian of the Post who is a most excellent man, and has taken much pains to put and keep an old library in a neat and serviceable condition. It is thought

that under this arrangement, the improved condition of the library would soon repay the expenditure." [File Book, Fort Laramie.]

27. S. Mackin, Assistant Surgeon, and Assistant Surgeon F. Le Baron Monroe, "Fort Fetterman," U. S. War Department, Surgeon General's Office, Circular No. 4, December 5, 1870. In her Fort Fetterman studies, Katherine Halverson, Chief, Historical Research and Publications Division, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, has found trooper complaints against balking and order-squelching in furnishing requested periodicals. See also David B. Robrock, *A History of Fort Fetterman*, M. A. Thesis, University of Wyoming, 1975, pp. 79, 89, 90, published in *Annals of Wyoming*, Spring, 1976.
28. In enterprise with Judge Carter, Dr. Waters was half partner to the billiards concessions at Fort Bridger, sharing on October 1, 1864, the \$337.50 cost of a newly ordered table. [Carter Ledger 16, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department.]
29. In a sub-category of fort women, the hygenic and humanistic roles of the post laundresses on "Soapsuds Row" deserve book-length treatment, as might the favors of music and dance the "Hurdy Gurdy" women furnished troopers at that edge of existence.
30. In addition to schooling of fort children, primary boot-strap courses were made available to enlisted men in a *Mc Guffey Elecetic Readers* format.
31. In the parameters of this study, the extensive private library of Judge Carter, brought overland by oxen, was a singular cultural source to the Carter family and Bridger society. "He was much of a student and had accumulated a library, six, eight, or ten thousand volumes," Dr. Grace Hebard estimated [Letter May 26, 1927, University of Wyoming Archives, B-C246-wa.] "My father loved company," the son W. A. Carter wrote Dr. Hebard [Letter September 26, 1929, University of Wyoming Archives, F775-br], "and anyone who had an idea worth while whether of wit or wisdom was always welcome." Stamping Jim Bridger's illiteracy "densely ignorant," Carter did not welcome him, though a fellow Virginian, an able storyteller, and said to be fond of hearing Shakespeare read aloud. Whatever articles of literacy or politeness were required for access, Carter's collection, the largest library in existence, extended the bounty of learning to the western reaches of Wyoming, to Carter's death in 1881. Titled to Carter's widow in 1896 and transmitted to the daughter Louise Landon (Carter) Groshon in 1904, Fort Bridger, the Carter home, and library reverted to the Honorable Maurice Groshon on his wife's death in 1925. From long D. A. R. friendship with "Lulie" Groshon, Dr. Hebard received on behalf of the University, November 18, 1926, the one-sixth portion of the Carter library settled on Mrs. Groshon, equally with the other Carter children. The books "of many subjects, from music to astronomy, philosophy to mathematics, and from history to science" were inter-shelved with the University library, and cannot be inventoried. [See *Laramie Republican* account, November 18, 1926.] In the same bequest the University received a treasured Steinway square grand, the piano Carter bought his wife, May 6, 1864, for \$516.00, and had transported by oxen to Bridger, employing, by one account, the cartage service of Brigham Young. [Carter Ledger, 15, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department; like Post Returns and War Department Records, the voluminous Carter ledgers tend more to quantify than to qualify information, and while politically and economically important, especially as itemized accounts of fortunes to be made in frontier merchandising, they do not immediately pertain in this study.]

32. W. E. Waters, Assistant Surgeon, "Fort Bridger," U. S. War Department, Surgeon General's Office, Circular No. 4, December 5, 1870.
33. J. H. Frantz, Assistant Surgeon, "Fort Sanders," U. S. War Department, Surgeon General's Office, Circular No. 4, December 5, 1870. At whose command or at whose volition, a reading room was directly created at Fort Sanders, making available *Harper's Weekly*, *Chicago Times Weekly*, *Catholic Review*, *Army and Navy Gazette*, *Harper's Monthly*, *New York Daily Herald*, *Army and Navy Journal*, *Turf Field and Farm*, and the *Washington Sunday Herald*, for complete acculturation; as well, *Atlantic Monthly*, *True Flag*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, *International Review*, and *Fireside Companion*. [Post Letters Sent, April 3, 1879, and June 30, 1879: cited in Ray Revere, *A History of Fort Sanders*, Unpublished History M. A. Thesis, University of Wyoming, 1960, p. 30; p. 42.]
34. Fort Laramie "Day Book," Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department. Catalogued "Ledger: Post Library, Fort Laramie. W. T.," the original is in the possession of Jack Asay, Casper, Wyoming, and was loaned to the Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department in 1962, microfilmed, and lead titled "Ledger, Post Library, 1877-89." This study identifies it as the Fort Laramie "Day Book," from the identification on the spine. Comprising 22 lined pages, 6½ inches by 10¼ inches, with 38 entry lines per page, the "Day Book" library listing has three sections, the first two in a distinctive handwriting, and the up-dated "New Books" section in a differently handsome calligraphy. Entry dates are under February, July, September ["A. H." donated collection], and November 1877. As only book titles and author surnames are given, time-framing entails the very laborious use of *The National Union Card Catalog Imprints*, with such help as is furnished by *American Authors and Books*, rev. Weiss, New York, 1943. *American Authors, 1600-1900*, ed. Kunitz, New York, 1938, *European Authors, 1000-1900*, ed. Kunitz, 1967, *Cassell's Encyclopedia*, 3 vols., ed. J. Buchanan Brown, New York, 1973, and other aids, as far as one would pursue the issues of obscure authorship. As there are diminishing returns in trying to run down every lead, it suffices to time-frame the Day Book in the broader language of representative works, with particular attention to currency of works, those virtually fresh off the press in the long imprint of history.
35. There is some overlapping of titles in the first and second sections of the Day Book, and multi-volume works are line-numbered to each volume: e.g., George Bancroft, *History of the United States*, 10 volumes (1834-1874), lines 6-14 in the second section of the Day Book. The implication is that the Bancroft set was bought in 1874, and not in installments.
36. As the fort's mean strength was about 400, a count of 923 implies a great number of fort dependents, a large out-reach clientele, or a cumulative file at odds with an active list of readers. The "Day Book" seems to have its inventory character in a decision of January 17, 1877, to reassess and rejuvenate the fort library: "Council noted 131 volumes on hand which they evaluated at 50 cents cash amounting to sixty-five dollars and fifty cents to which they added \$100.00. They spent \$168.30 on furniture and matting for reading room." [File Book, Fort Laramie.]
37. One apparent intention of the catalogue was to provide a check-out system against loss. The occasional notation "Lost by desertion" suggests that some runaway soldiers cared enough to steal books. As straightforward record keeping, the Day Book system transfers titles from the list of books to some hundred separate sign-out pages. Such a cross-index check-out presumes a personal knowledge of both the library materials and users. As a separate inquiry, one might do a customer-frequency study to learn who the patrons were and what they read. The most omnivorous reader in the check-out sheets was a Private Fosdick, "Music Boy," Fort Laramie, who not only dispelled his tedium but fair immersed himself in books.
38. I am usually in arrears in my own reading, and seem to fall a bit further behind each year. I know people who are seriously remiss in their reading, and I know some who do not read at all, notwithstanding their subscription to periodicals and their membership in book clubs. For ease of argument, it is assumed that fort library materials were being read in the general season of their growth.
39. The third section of the Day Book, "New Books," shows re-ordering of the works of Cooper and Hawthorne, and those of Dickens. That Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849), poet and story-teller, is missing from the Day Book listings is as disappointing as that Samuel Langhorne Clemens (1835-1910) is missing. In the boards of time upon which this study is staged, both figures somehow fell between the cracks. I can suppose that even modest private libraries of the time included some Poe, and I would wish, of course, to place *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) in dramatic position within this study. Some consolation, an unfounded story is that Twain was among the celebrities to pay his courtesies to Judge Carter in a Fort Bridger visit.
40. Inevitable perhaps with proprietary librarians, the keeper of the Day Book code inserts an "Unfit for issue" judgment alongside Collins' *Armadale* (1866), but refrains from commenting on the more controversial *New Magdalene* (1873).
41. *Eustace Diamonds* (1873) and *Phineas Redux* (1874) came in time to catch up frontier Trollopians along with all of his other fans.
42. This is not the refined question of whether Laramieites saw off-Broadway plays and vacationed in Biarritz.
43. The "A. H." collection of gift books is tabulated within the Day Book. One may suppose that many Fort Laramie residents and departees gave their books to the fort librarian to cull. Periodical descriptions and library brochures would have given the purchase principles.
44. In the confusions of change, Col. Henry Merriam, Fort Laramie commanding officer, wrote the Adjutant General, April 16, 1888: "It has not been possible to ascertain the date when the Post Library was established. There were on hand in the Post Library January 1, 1887, Five hundred and eighteen (518) books, and on January 1, 1888, Five hundred and seventy eight (578) books. Additions since January 1, 1888, seven (7) volumes. [File Book, Fort Laramie.]

# W. R. Shannon, Railroadman-Pioneer

By Kent Shannon

Kent Shannon, author of the following essay, is a student at Huntley Junior High School. His home is in Yoder. His essay received the first place certificate and a \$50 award in the 1979 junior activities competition sponsored by the Wyoming State Historical Society. His award was presented to him during the annual meeting of the Society in Laramie in September.

The junior activities competition has been part of the awards program of the State Historical Society for many years, and is open to junior high school and high school students in the state. It is especially aimed at members of history classes supervised by a teacher and members of youth groups with adult leadership.

The program is designed to encourage interest in Wyoming history among young people in Wyoming and to encourage membership in chapters of the Society or establishment of junior history organizations. An additional purpose of the program is to encourage the involvement of young people in the marking of historical sites in Wyoming.

Awards in the junior activities program, in addition to first place, are a second place certificate and \$35 award, third place certificate and \$25 award, and honorable mention. Entries are judged by the Society's Awards Committee, chaired by the second vice-president of the Society.

Historical essays are the activity most frequently represented in the junior competition. However, awards may also be given for group activity under a leader for exploration of historically significant areas accompanied by study of documentary material and use of on-site writing, drawing, carving or photography.

The Wyoming State Historical Society has first publication rights for written material submitted in the competition.—Editor.

When I see someone looking at a pocket watch, hear the whistle of a train, or hear someone speak of the Union Pacific, I immediately think of my great granddad, Walter R. Shannon. Granddad, as I call him, worked for the Union Pacific Railroad for sixty-two years.

Granddad started out in 1904 when Teddy Roosevelt was president of the United States. Granddad went to work for the railroad as a telegrapher when he was only sixteen years old. He started out in Kansas and then worked several places in Colorado and Wyoming as well. In 1918 he was promoted to agent at Buford, Wyoming.

He later moved to several Wyoming towns and then to Hawk Springs where he remained after 1931 as agent-telegrapher. Walter retired in May of 1964, and he and his wife moved to Torrington where he resided with his wife until her death in 1967. Several years later Walter had the honor of receiving a fifty-year diamond pin as a tribute to his years of service even though at the time of his retirement they were not presenting this type of honor. He received a special letter from the president of the Union Pacific Railroad congratulating him on his sixty-two years of service. Granddad was a pioneer in his own right having seen many changes both in the progression of the railroad and also seeing our nation grow and change.

Walter R. Shannon was born on April 10, 1888, at Edwardsville, Kansas, to Walter Benjamin and Missouri Maupin Shannon. His father was a farmer and raised corn and hogs. He grew up in a large family of eleven girls and four boys. His childhood days were spent squirrel hunting and swimming in the Missouri River.

Walter attended school for eight years and due to the death of his father when Walter was fourteen years old, he had to find work and help with the raising of his brothers and sisters still at home. Walter learned the trade of a telegrapher by listening and watching through the window of a telegraph office in a nearby town. He went to work for the railroad and at the age of twenty-three, he met and married Mary Jane Gaume on April 14, 1911. Their first son Russell was born on February 20, 1912, at Green, Kansas. The family moved several times from railroad town to railroad town. A second son, Wilbur, was born February 11, 1914, at Hanna, Wyoming, a Union Pacific coal town. Wilbur said that the hospital he was born in was built over No. 4 mine and his mother said that she could hear blasting going on underground at the time of his birth. Homer, their third and last son, was born May 17, 1920, at Pine Bluffs, Wyoming, where Walter was agent for four years.

Many interesting accounts were told us as Walter moved from town to town. When he was at Walcott, Wyoming, he told of a time when 300 or 400 wild horses were rounded up to be shipped out on the train. When part of the horses reached their destination they weren't worth enough to even pay for the cost of the shipping so all the rest of the horses were just turned loose.

Walter has always been known for his good memory and Wilbur said, "When I was a young man just learning to drive, I would drive Dad slowly past the railroad

cars and Dad would memorize the numbers on the cars and upon returning to the depot record his findings. They were always right." Wilbur said he and his brothers used to push the coal cars up the ramp and then ride down in them. Walter told of how they used to unload the railroad cars. They would unload them on four-wheel carts, push the carts across and unload them, keeping this up until the job was completed. All work at that time was done by hand. Wilbur remembers when groceries were shipped in by the carload lots and dispersed to the many sheep camps in that area. Water was also shipped in by rail and people came in to get their water supply. Walcott at that time consisted of a hotel, bar, harness shop, mercantile store, and, of course, the depot. Sinclair, a nearby town, was an oil town, and much oil was shipped out. A pipeline was put in and so the town died because oil was no longer shipped by railroad car.

When Walter was agent at Rock River, Wyoming, they had a terrible snowstorm. It snowed eight feet. The problems created were so bad that a snow shed was constructed over the track for quite a distance costing about a million dollars. Walter said after that it never snowed again that bad and finally it was torn down because of all the problems it created for the trains. During these years there was great sadness in the Shannon family due to the loss of their oldest son, Russell, who was only eighteen years old at the time of his death.

Walter moved a few more times, finally ending up in Hawk Springs, Wyoming, in 1931. When he came to Hawk Springs it was a booming town. There were among the many businesses three grocery stores, a fresh meat market, a variety store, cafe, cream station, hardware store, filling station, garage and many more.

Walter told of the many things that were shipped in and out of the railroad station. During sugar beet harvest the farmers hauled their beets in by horse and wagon doing the loading and unloading by hand. They were piled and then loaded again by hand onto the railroad cars. Farmers would drive their hogs down to the railroad yards and ship them to market. Holly Sugar had a big feed lot in the Hawk Springs railroad yard and 800 to 1000 cattle were fed and shipped to market. Pulp was shipped out from the Torrington sugar factory to feed the cattle. A grain elevator was constructed and wheat and other grains were shipped by rail.

The railroad was a big business in those times. Passengers came and went in some of the most elaborate railroad cars you'd ever hope to travel in. Mail came in in huge amounts. Fresh fruits, lumber, fuel, coal and tires were just a few of the many products brought in by rail. Cream was shipped out daily. The trains were almost always on time. Granddad was, and is to this day, a person who had to know the correct time and whenever you see him you'll see his pocket watch in hand.

Granddad Shannon was very busy for several years after moving to Hawk Springs with the coming and going of freight. He had seen the railroad go from steam engines—many stopped in Hawk Springs to fill up with water—to the big diesel engines. He went from telegraph to telephone in his line of work. When the mail stopped being shipped by rail the railroad business dropped off drastically. Passenger business dropped as well as many other services. Granddad saw Hawk Springs go from a booming town down to a small town, with lots of businesses closing their doors due to the changing times.

Granddad loves to fish and hunt and over the years has done more than his share of it. He loves Wyoming and has hardly been out of the state since he moved into it. Granddad has seen many changes in his life. It saddens him to see the once busy Hawk Springs depot, windows boarded up, paint peeling and weatherbeaten, weeds grown up and covering the paths he used so frequently. The feed lots are torn down and there are vacant lots where the railroad houses once stood.

Granddad can remember dates and things that have happened many years ago. When he lived in Hawk Springs he settled many an argument by giving the right date and facts about a certain incident. He can be remembered best by quoting: "Do you know what happened on this day—years ago?" many times going back fifty or more years, and he would always come up with an accurate account of actually what did happen on that certain day.

Granddad told of remembering a special date in history—the Cherokee Strip land rush which took place in Oklahoma City in 1893 which was probably the largest opening of free land by the federal government in the United States history. Granddad, who was just five years old when this happened, said, "My parents farmed fourteen miles northeast of Oklahoma City and on that day in September, 1893, my father hitched up a team of horses and took our family to watch the run for land. Those wanting to stake claim to free land were lined up for miles on horseback, in wagons, buggies and what not waiting for the gun to go off starting the rush." Granddad said, "It was the darndest sight you ever saw. The funniest thing I saw was a man sixty or seventy years old on foot who was in the race."

Granddad can talk on many subjects of the old times and people he knew. His accounts are almost nearly 100% accurate. He is now nearly 91 years of age and resides by himself in Torrington. He has besides his two sons and their wives, six grandchildren and thirteen great-grandchildren. He is one of the few old-timers around and is very interesting to talk with on the subject of by-gone days. He is truly a pioneer in his own right.

\*Walter R. Shannon died on Feb. 23, 1979, after this article was written.

# WSHS 30th Annual Trek

July 14, 1979

Dull Knife Battlefield

Hole-in-the-Wall

More than 600 people from twenty-nine Wyoming towns and eleven other states participated in the thirtieth annual historical trek sponsored by the Wyoming State Historical Society and the Johnson County and Natrona County Chapters of the Society on July 14. It was the largest group ever to take part in a trek. Bill Bragg, Casper, and Bill Holland, Buffalo, were wagon bosses.

The trekkers gathered at 10 a.m. in Kaycee at the Country Inn, and the caravan composed primarily of four-wheel-drive vehicles, campers and pick-up trucks traveled 16 miles to the Norris Graves ranch. Everyone spread out their own picnic lunches under big cottonwood trees on the banks of the Red Fork of the Powder River.

The Graves ranch is the site of the Dull Knife battle, and the Reverend Stuart Frazier, of Buffalo, gave a

detailed account of how the cavalry of General Ranald McKenzie charged the Indian village in the early morning of November 27, 1876. The outnumbered Indians were caught by surprise and the Indian village was destroyed. The surviving members of Dull Knife's band went to reservations. A monument commemorating the battle is located on the top of a hill overlooking the site of the battle.

Ranch owner Graves talked briefly about the history of the ranch which was purchased by his parents, Frank and Frannie Graves, in 1904. The fourth generation of the family is now living on the ranch, he said. His sister, Shirley Graves Fraker, told about her husband's uncle, Herman Fraker, who came to the valley as a trapper in 1877 and homesteaded part of the Graves ranch. Another sister, Nona Graves Kimball, recalled the early settlers in the Barnum area and described their ranches, so that trekkers could identify them on the tour.

Jerry Crockford of the Bureau of the Land Management office in Buffalo told the group of plans to



*The Hole-in-the-Wall*

KATHERINE A. HALVERSON

withdraw part of the public land in the Red Wall and Hole-in-the-Wall Country for wilderness potential. He said the Red Wall area from Kaycee to the Natrona County line would be withdrawn from mineral leasing. He said the BLM wants to preserve the area as it has always been.

After lunch the group headed south for the Hole-in-the-Wall. At Sheep Creek, south of Barnum, Henry Jensen, of Lysite, gave a short talk on the prehistoric handprints and pictographs there. He said the entire area shows evidence of being occupied by primitive man long before the white man. Jensen said the stencils of hands on the cliffs here are among the most unusual pictographs in Wyoming. They were apparently made by spraying a slurry made from the mud of swallow's nests, of which there are thousands along the Red Wall. The mud in the nests is the same color as the hand prints. Although it is not known how the stencils were made, natives in parts of Africa make the same kinds of handprints by filling their mouths with the slurry and flowing it on the area where they are holding their hands.

Jensen said that a portion of this same cliff one hundred yards down the river is virtually covered with

petroglyphs and a few remnants of pictographs. He also pointed out Castle Rock, to the south, a famous landmark in this part of the country. He said the earliest reference to the landmark of which he is aware is that of Captain W. F. Raynolds, who noted in his journal for October 2, 1859 that "one large butte stands in the middle of the valley and seen from a distance greatly resembles a crumbling castle. The towers and bastions are all complete and the likeness to an old ruin is indeed extraordinary."

Another remarkable evidence of primitive man in this area, according to Jensen, is an Indian trail which is marked by stone cairns or stone piles, which vary from a few stones to one almost five feet tall along the road which goes up the south side of Middle Fork Canyon to the site of the outlaw cave.

Wayne Wolcott, member of a pioneer family, who led the trek into the Hole-in-the-Wall, gave a talk on the geographical significance of that immediate area, and told of interesting events which took place in the rustler outlaw period of the 1890s. The Hole-in-the-Wall country is probably best known for its association with Butch Cassidy and the Wild Bunch.



KATHERINE A. HALVERSON

*Trek vehicles parked at site of Dull Knife battle where participants of 30th Annual WSHS trek heard the Rev. Stuart Frazier talk about the 1876 incident.*

# BOOK REVIEWS

*Tending the Talking Wire: A Buck Soldier's View of Indian Country, 1863-1866.* Edited by William E. Unrau. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1979). Index. Illus. Maps. 378 pp. \$15.00.

At initial glance *Tending the Talking Wire* appears as yet another first-hand account of life in the Wild West in the troubled 1860s. Since the serious western historian has been bombarded in quantity by commentators ranging in readability from Mark Twain to Eugene F. Ware, Professor Unrau's undertaking might expect a reception similar to that afforded to another oil price increase. Nevertheless, *Tending the Talking Wire* deserves to be taken seriously.

From July 1863 to June 1866 Hervey Johnson served with the Eleventh Regiment of Ohio Volunteer Cavalry. One hundred of his letters, most of them written from frontier posts within the present-day Wyoming, provide the grist from which Unrau's book is fashioned. Johnson emerges from his prose as an observant and reasonably literate Highland County, Ohio, Quaker facing a series of unpleasant tasks far from home, family and friends. Reflections on this state of affairs are mingled with views of army life and glimpses of the land and people at Fort Laramie, Deer Creek Station (near present-day Glenrock), Sweetwater Station and Platte Bridge.

Hervey Johnson's Wyoming appears as an ambivalent mixture of natural beauty, unpredictable weather and troublesome Indians, toward whom his attitude moved farther and farther from Quaker qualities of tolerance and kindness as his tour of duty progressed. As for army life, Johnson depicted a blend of boredom and adventure. From his corporal's perspective, officers were incompetent or worse.

Unrau has shown the good sense to avoid tampering with Johnson's straight-forward prose and his quaint Quaker expressions. Notes call attention to other related

published works, correct errors in fact or omissions and clarify confusing points of geography. Maps provided are useful, but a clearer graphic representation of relationships between current Wyoming geography and historic sites would be helpful. Drawings and photographs add interest as do brief biographical sketches of persons prominently mentioned.

The editor's introduction creates the impression that frontier historical literature has dealt too kindly with the officer class. Examination of some remaining unpublished letter collections, the Joseph Balch letters at the Bancroft Library, for example, would indicate that some officers were not reluctant to chastise their colleagues. Overall, however, Hervey Johnson's letters and William Unrau's efforts to place them in historical context provide a useful addition to the literature of Wyoming and the American West.

DAVID B. MILLER

*Professor Miller teaches in the Social Science Division, Black Hills State College, Spearfish, South Dakota*

*Boswell, The Story of a Frontier Lawman.* By Mary Lou Pence. (Cheyenne: Pioneer Printing, 1979). \$7.50.

This is the story of N. K. Boswell, a frontier peace officer whose career spanned half a century of law enforcing during the west's most tumultuous years. Nathaniel Kimball Boswell came west in 1859 with a gold seeking expedition, but with the real purpose of regaining his health from a lung fever brought on two years earlier from a boating accident at his home in Wisconsin.

Known as Boz, his career became as varied and colorful as a fictional western movie. His earliest assignments were on the dangerous Colorado border

trails. He was with Chivington at Sand Creek, and with Dave Cook's Rocky Mountain Detective Association, working in Denver, Julesburg, Cheyenne, Dale Creek and Laramie, and was with General Crook on his march to the Rosebud. He later played an important part in the breaking up of a territorial syndicate of horse thieves, and several gangs and murderers whose names are now an established part of western history.

Eventually he became Albany County, Wyoming Territory's first peace officer, and finally, Chief of Detectives serving the Wyoming Stock Growers Association in halting rustling, fence cutting, and enforcing proper brand inspection.

The book is well researched and readable. Journalist/historian Pence, of Laramie, Wyoming is the text author of *Ghost Towns of Wyoming*, which won the American Association for State and Local History Award of Merit, as well as a top National Press Women award. She is also the author of several western feature stories in leading publications.

RUTH AUBUCHON

*The reviewer, editor of Wyoming Library Roundup and Public Information Officer for the Wyoming State Library, has won awards for several television documentaries on Wyoming history.*

*The Great Plains Environment and Culture.*  
Edited by Brian W. Blouet and Frederick C. Luebke. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979). Illus. Charts. 246 pp. \$15.95.

The editors have assembled here twelve scholarly papers initially presented in 1977 at a symposium sponsored by the Center for Great Plains Studies, University of Nebraska-Lincoln. While the essays address a variety of topics, all are basically concerned with interrelationships between the Great Plains environment and human activity. Editor Luebke's introduction summarizes the major themes that have marked plains scholarship and provides the reader with a knowledgeable commentary on the essays themselves.

A century ago, explorer John Wesley Powell pointed out the essential unity of the semi-arid grasslands that extended westward from the central woodlands to the foothills of the Rockies, and in 1931, historian Walter P. Webb elaborated the idea in his pioneering work, *The Great Plains*. The volume remains a classic of sorts, a provocative and sweeping synthesis which cut across traditional disciplinary boundaries. Working more or less in the Webb tradition were such later scholars as James C. Malin, Fred Shannon, Earl Pomeroy, and Carl Kraenzel; all viewed the Great Plains as (at least) a unique integration of environmental demands and cultural adaptations.

In this volume we see still another phase of Great Plains scholarship. These writers tend to narrow and refine their areas of inquiry, frequently applying the analytical techniques of contemporary social science. There are some exceptions; the papers of historians Gilbert Fite and Mary Hargreaves are broadly interpretive, both linking institutional change and governmental actions with such factors as space, environment, technology, and demography.

The other essays are more limited in scope. Four look at specific aspects of plains farming; the vogue of irrigation between 1890 and 1914; agricultural technology in the Dust Bowl of the 1930's; crop adaptations during the extended drought of the late 1800's; and operational techniques used by the modern plains farmer to minimize economic short-falls in this high risk area. Two more deal with aspects of the plains country town; its development, its characteristic features, and its place in the plains matrix. The railroad often dictated the internal form of these communities and one of this pair of essays focuses on the standardized railroad station as an architectural form. The topic may seem a bit esoteric but the piece is an interesting combination of architectural and cultural history. Another paper addresses Populism, a movement often explained in terms of western agricultural problems common through the region. Here again the topic is pared down. It is Populism in Nebraska that is explored and the author correlates election returns with farming patterns to argue that the third-party agitation in his state emerged from a special set of essentially local circumstances. In yet another essay, the author (a geographer) examines ideas and perceptions of the Great Plains in the 18th and 19th Centuries. His point is that the region can be, and has been, defined by a set of images and concepts that exist quite apart from the land itself.

The first and last papers in the collection neatly illustrate the sharpened focus of the contemporary plains studies. In the first, an anthropologist reconstructs the cultural adaptations of prehistoric peoples in the Republican River Valley, and in the final piece, a rural sociologist analyzes plains city and village population trends, 1950 to 1970.

While these essays were written by specialists and mainly for specialists, they may profitably be read by anyone with more than a passing interest in the Great Plains. Most readers of the *Annals* need not be reminded that eastern Wyoming (along with all or parts of nine other states) is included in the region and that the Great Plains experience is, at least in some measure, our own.

H. R. DIETERICH

*The reviewer is Professor of History at the University of Wyoming in Laramie.*

*The Saloon on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier.* By Elliott West. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979). Index. Bibliog. Illus. 197 pp. \$14.50.

Prof. West, who labors deep in the heart of Texas and the university thereof, has done those of us interested in his subject or who need authenticated source material a goodly service. Most of us suffer from factual malnutrition when it comes to the subject of saloons, or have never been weaned from the Hell-On-Wheels-Daddy-of-'Em-All misconceptions or misrepresentations. West can straighten you out like four fingers of pre-Volstead bourbon or the post-Volstead Kemmerer unreasonable facsimile thereof. His considerable research is obvious. His organization is excellent. His writing is straight and tight. And he invariably attains that misdemeanor against modernity—clarity.

But, unfortunately, in not so much a criticism as simply a factual observation, the Westian prose is rather dry and not written to elicit the colorful. He leaves the little sparkles here and there to take care of themselves with the reader. There are such things as the photograph, with 44-word cutline, showing bar-attached towels used to wipe beer-foamed mustaches plus a mesh mat for traction on a floor wet with spilled beer. West drew no conclusions about the spittoons between the bar and the mat. Or the reader can be jumped out of somnolence by such quickies as "The St. Elmo Saloon of Globe, Arizona, featured women acrobats and singers who doubled as whores between acts." And beer was only a nickel a glass, at that. The first beer brewed in Montana reportedly included the tops of spruce trees. One of West's few shortcomings is that he includes no explanations for such things and, in professorial purity, doesn't attempt to add some color with a bit of speculation. The spruce obviously put a head on the brew. Otherwise they would have used knot-holes.

All in all, West's neat little book is an admirable, authentic treatise treating at some length the reasons for the drinking habits of miners, and, among other things, tracing the development of saloons from holes in embankments to opulent latter-day watering palaces. He treats of what went to make up a saloonkeeper and of the economic contributions in taxes. For instance, saloon proprietors were, he concludes, virtually all genial, a necessity of their calling, and were much as other businessmen. Among other things, saloons could be counted on to pay their taxes, something that could not be said universally for some other businesses.

Some grog shoppers were characters of course, West notes with characteristic brevity. The diversity of experience of one Jim Wardner included running the Consolidated Black Cat Company, Ltd., for the purpose of furnishing the pelts of domestic cats for various uses.

Then there was Charles E. "Pap" Wyman who is credited in legend with keeping his small change in a purse made from a human scrotum.

#### BURTON THOMPSON

*The reviewer is editor of The Credit Edit, publication of the Wyoming Uniform Consumer Credit Code*

*Old Yellowstone Days.* Edited by Paul Schullery. (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1979). Bibliog. Map. Illus. 250 pp. \$12.50.

Ever since the American public received its initial description of the Yellowstone region from John Colter, the nation has maintained a fascination for this scenic area of northwestern Wyoming. Fur traders of the early nineteenth century further popularized this broad expanse of wilderness, and there is little wonder that Yellowstone became the country's first national park in 1872. Despite a shortage of improved roads, hotels and "civilized" comforts, it attracted thousands of tourists during the first forty years of existence and many of them published highly literate accounts of their experiences.

Paul Schullery, former ranger-naturalist and archivist at Yellowstone National Park, has assembled eleven of these first-hand descriptions and reprinted them in this new anthology. The sections range from Mrs. George Cowan's spell-binding account of her party's harrowing escape from Chief Joseph's Nez Perce during 1877, to President Theodore Roosevelt's assessment of the park's animal life in 1903.

The most interesting selections concern the immense problems associated with protecting the park's resources from poachers, vandals and souvenir hunters who continually broke off rock formations around the famous geysers. George Anderson's feature on the policing role undertaken by the United States Cavalry indicates that there were no adequate laws to punish these types of infractions until passage of the National Park Protective Act in 1894. Prior to the enactment, guilty parties were escorted beyond the park's boundaries, only to return to their destructive tasks a few days later. Famed novelist Emerson Hough likewise perceived this as the most difficult problem in early park management and he lobbied for just such an enforceable law in his 1894 article exposing the impunity with which poachers were destroying the protected animal herds.

Other selections within the anthology devote themselves to physical descriptions of Yellowstone's natural attractions. Novelist and essayist Charles Dudley Warner captures the beauty of Yellowstone Canyon with its cascading falls, Yellowstone Lake with its impressive

stands of timber, and the spectacular geyser basin with its acrobatic performances by steam and boiling water. An even more sensitive interpretation of nature's wonders appears in John Muir's strongly metaphorical account of the flora and fauna. As a true preservationist, Muir saw dignity in all of nature's creations and he was opposed to conservationists who only wished to protect resources for the time being so that they could be exploited in the future.

Equally perturbed with some tourists' insensitivity toward nature, Owen Wister, author of *The Virginian*, published an article recalling how physical improvements within the park had opened the door to less desirable travelers who favored creature comforts over the beauty of nature. Even more cynical was the English traveler and celebrated novelist Rudyard Kipling who visited the park in 1889 and later described the vulgarity and pretensions of the people he encountered there.

Rounding out the anthology is a selection by William O. Owen describing the first bicycle excursion into Yellowstone in 1883, and a memoir by naturalist John Burroughs on his impressions of Theodore Roosevelt's 1903 trip through the park.

Because this book merely reprints earlier published materials, it will not create any great discussion within academic circles, but that is not the audience for which the anthology was assembled. It will instead find a welcome place among the large numbers of people who live in the Yellowstone region, those who have made or contemplate making a summer visit to the park, and those present-day environmentalists who wish to sample kindred sentiments from an earlier time period in American history.

Editor Schullery has provided brief biographical introductions to each of the eleven selections and he has included an extensive bibliography of other travelers' accounts from the same era. An index and more detailed maps would have enhanced the book, but most readers can savor its highly personalized flavor without needing these extra features.

MICHAEL L. TATE

*The reviewer is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Nebraska, Omaha*

*The Fist in the Wilderness*. By David Lavender. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979). Reprint. Maps. Bibliog. Index. 490 pp. \$8.95 paperback.

Since its initial publication by Doubleday in 1964, this work has become widely accepted as an important addition to the history of the American Fur Trade.

Lavender's *Fist in the Wilderness* is the American Fur Company during the period 1808-34 when it was controlled by its founder, John Jacob Astor.

Using primarily a biographical approach, Lavender portrays the company's operations through the activities of Ramsay Crooks, who was Astor's field manager for nearly two decades. Crooks, a native of Scotland, was only eighteen years old when he entered the Great Lakes fur trade in 1805. After an association with James Aird and Robert Dickson on the Upper Mississippi he joined the overland Astorians and, as a member of the small party returning east from the mouth of the Columbia, participated in the discovery of South Pass in 1812.

During the War of 1812 Crooks began working directly with Astor as that New York entrepreneur maneuvered to free his company from its ties with Montreal merchants. The war, while disastrous to Canadian traders and their Indian allies, opened the Great Lakes to Americans, and Astor with Crooks as his chief lieutenant, moved aggressively to monopolize the trade. From 1816-1834, Crooks was instrumental in influencing the federal government to abolish its factory system and in extending American Fur Company operations throughout the Great Lakes, the Upper Mississippi and the Missouri River regions.

In 1834 Crooks, flushed with recent successes, purchased the company from Astor. Lavender consistently praises Crooks as a young, energetic innovator and characterizes Astor as old, cautious and parsimonious. Whatever his shortcomings may have been, Astor, either by design or good fortune, left the trade at a propitious time. Crooks, after a series of misfortunes that nearly ruined the fur trade, was forced into bankruptcy in 1842.

The story of the *Fist in the Wilderness* ends abruptly with Lavender describing the eight years of Crooks' ownership of the company in only three pages. This conclusion is disappointing and inappropriate, for surely Crooks, as the central figure in this chronicle, deserved more than a few pages of coverage for the period when he led the company.

In spite of this shortcoming, Lavender has made a significant contribution to the literature of the fur trade with this book. His analysis of the nature of the trade and its legal and organizational complexities is excellent. Additionally, his extensive research in numerous primary sources has added to the knowledge and understanding of the elusive Southwest Company and the Columbia Fur Company, a major rival of the American Fur Company for a brief period.

Lavender is also a good story teller who succeeds in recapturing much of the drama of the fur trade. In some instances, however, judicious editing would have eliminated some digressions which contribute nothing to readers who have a background in frontier history and

probably only confuse those who do not. Nonetheless, most readers will benefit from this book whether they read for entertainment or information.

### WILLIAM E. LASS

*Professor Lass is chairman of the Department of History, Mankato State University, Mankato, Minnesota*

*Along the Ramparts of the Tetons: The Saga of Jackson Hole, Wyoming.* By Robert B. Betts. (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1978). Index. Illus. 249 pp. \$15.00 cloth, \$6.95 paperback.

From the rather unusual dedication to the final paragraph of the postscript, this is a book to read, enjoy and then refer back to for information on a variety of subjects. The day after I finished reading *Along the Ramparts of the Tetons*, I picked it up to look again at the beautiful pictures I had seen. They were not to be found; the pictures were painted in my mind—not imprinted on paper!

Robert Betts and his family came to the Teton country to see the mountains and spend some time on a dude ranch. Betts says their lives have never been the same since. They fell in love with the Tetons and finally built a home in the valley to which they hope one day to retire. Their Eastern friends planned to "drop by to catch the view" even though it meant traveling several thousand miles. For this reason, Betts decided to write this book. He says that at first he planned to just compile some notes to give friends an understanding of how the Tetons were formed and a little of the recent history of the country. The more he delved into the subject, the more "hooked" he became and soon the notes became a full-fledged book.

Betts traces the history of the Tetons from the beginning of time to the present, tells of the arrival of the first men, the Beringeans, through the early Indians, the trappers and fur traders, explorers, homesteaders, cattlemen and rustlers. He tells of the world's largest elk herd and its preservation, of the long and bitter controversy over making a national park of the Tetons.

This saga of the Jackson Hole acquaints the reader with such historic persons as Jim Bridger, Jim Beckwourth, Jedediah Smith, William Sublette, and Davy Jackson. It includes stories about leaders of military expeditions, a few famous desperados, a boy who ran away from home, joined the Indians and later became a Pony Express rider. Also included is the tragic story of Beaver Dick Leigh and his Indian wife, Jenny, for whom a lake in the area is named. The fight at the Cunningham

cabin, the so-called Bannock war of 1895, Louis Joy and the first dude ranch in the Hole and Ed Trafton, who held up sixteen stagecoaches in one day, are among the many other stories chronicled for those who care to read.

Throughout the book is a thread tying one to the beauty and romance of the land which Betts describes (with apologies for a cliche) as Shangrila.

In only one instance did I find fault with this writer. He gives Frank Mondell the title of Senator. Mondell, of course, was for twenty-six years a member of the U. S. House of Representatives.

*Along the Ramparts of the Tetons* is a beautiful book and one which I heartily recommend. As A. B. Guthrie says in his introduction to the book, "—call it scholarly, call it chatty. Say it is a history. The terms don't matter. What matters is that we have the story of the Jackson Hole now" and what a story!

### MABEL BROWN

*The reviewer, the 1978-79 president of the Wyoming State Historical Society, is editor and publisher of Bits and Pieces. She lives in Newcastle, Wyoming*

*Cottonwood Moon.* By Richard F. Fleck. (Laramie: Jelm Mountain Publications, 1979). 54 pp. \$6.00.

A good poem is words which paint, which sculpt, which make music. So says University of Wyoming English professor Richard Fleck in a fine little poem called "Art in Poetry." It can be found amidst the 44 short poems that constitute *Cottonwood Moon*.

The poem is exceptional, both in subject and quality. It meets its own standard and thus teaches twice. By including it, the author holds it up as a frame for reflection on the others.

Most of his word-pictures fit the frame, showing Fleck's mind as a shutter taking snapshots of the natural world from Ireland to Alberta, from Maine to the Grand Canyon. Fleckfilm is exposed on "russet Rockies," "fish-tail clouds" and "bone-goggled Eskimos." Oil well pumps are "Saurian ghosts" and Platte River bluffs "arise on golden mornings gleaming like eagles' eyes." Fleck sees the "Snowy Range" west of Laramie in a new and apt vision: "a mammoth Moby Dick/curling out of dark waters."

The camera records more than visible light. We hear "oak leaves hiss" and wind's alleluias. And everywhere, from the asphalt of Albuquerque to the northern prairies and mountains, Fleck sees wisps of what Wordsworth called the "sense sublime" in nature; he hears drumbeats of the "decimated races" of "deep red dancers."

In "Cheyenne Autumn" and "Indians and Thoreau," we have tipi rings waiting for "technetronic aborigines" to return where, presently, denizens of the "oily city" "build their mounds of ego heedlessly/Honking hollow virtues needlessly."

The poems reveal a sensitive receptivity expressed in simple, imagist forms. But aside from some good strokes, the language in these lines is not up to the poet's own standard. The repetition of pallid expressions dulls the impact of nearly every poem. The trees are always "twisted," the sun is "bright and shining," the branches are "gnarled," the peaks are "icy" or "snowy." In two poems, dancers "sway and swirl."

And in an effort to bump the poems into a preternatural dimension, Fleck uses the term "spirit" about 15 times, uses "mythic" or "mystic" six times and always finds a "fusion" and a "psychic" element lurking in the scene.

On balance, the sounds, colors and sculpted clay could be sharper and more vibrant.

PHILIP WHITE

*The reviewer is an attorney and freelance writer in Cheyenne, Wyoming. He is a regular contributor to High Country News, an environmental newspaper published in Lander, Wyoming.*

*More Burs Under the Saddle: Books and Histories of the West.* By Ramon F. Adams. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979). Index. 182 pp. \$14.95.

This posthumously published work was the twenty-first written by Ramon Adams, and his fifth book of western bibliography. Essentially, this book is a continuation of his 1964 *Burs Under the Saddle: Books and Histories of the West*, and uses the same format in critically reviewing 233 additional books. These books were either published from 1964 to 1976 or were earlier ones that only came to the author's attention after the original edition had gone to press.

The subtitle suggests a wide ranging examination of western histories; however, his goal is much more specific. He is concerned only with books or those portions of books which discuss the western cattle industry, peace officers and outlaws. The subject of the western cattle industry has attracted a substantial number of scholarly writers; unfortunately, the topic of western law enforcement has attracted authors more interested in sensationalism and myth-making than historical accuracy. Adams has a fertile field of opportunity to point out factual errors. His bibliographic essays center on the exploits of Billy the Kid, Sam Bass, Martha "Calamity

Jane" Canary, Pat Garrett, James Butler "Wild Bill" Hickok, Bat Masterson, the Daltons, the Earps, the Starrs, the James and the Youngers.

The author systematically demythologizes a variety of frontier folk tales guided by the belief that fact is much more fascinating than fiction. The critical reviews range in length from two sentences to one essay of thirteen pages.

Quite frequently the same historical errors are repeated time and time again by authors that either use only secondary source material or do not critically evaluate the fantastic memoirs of some retired lawmen and reformed lawbreakers. Sadly, not all the errors are committed by non-professional historians as Adams finds that several distinguished scholars and lecturers on western history have written spurious accounts of historical events.

Despite Adams' encyclopedic mind and meticulous research, a few inaccuracies have crept into the textual material. In reviewing Fred and Jo Mazulla's *Outlaw Album*, Adams comments; "(they) misspelled Con Wagner's name as Wager." He is mistaken here as the Mazulla's spelling of Wager is correct. He further deletes any reference to Wager in the work's index. In another place, Adams identifies Harry Longabaugh as Happy Longabaugh and in the table of contents, the number of books reviewed is given as 200, while in actuality the number should be 233 books. These are minor points and could have been the publisher's typographical mistakes.

Adams dedicated his life to a strenuous campaign against those authors who indulged in careless research. The best summary of his final book comes from the author when he writes:

"And so, in compiling this work, I find that people are still writing on subjects they know little about and are blindly following early legends that have been told as history. Let us hope that some day before this century has passed, such writings will be discontinued and historians who know how to do research will take over."

Let us hope.

JOHN C. PAIGE

*The reviewer is a historian with the National Park Service in Golden, Colorado.*

*A Salute to Courage.* Edited by Dennis P. Ryan. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979). Index. Illus. 338 pp. \$16.95.

History buffs, particularly those who enjoy primary resource material, will be delighted with *A Salute to Courage*, for here is an opportunity to fight side by side

with line officers of the Continental Army and Navy. Through more than seven years of the campaigns of the American Revolution, their letters, diaries, and journals lead the readers to experience the pain and joy, the trials and triumphs, the loneliness and camaraderie of the valiant efforts to gain independence and freedom.

In their effort "to advance and encourage the investigation and study of the history of the Revolution, its causes and results, and to instill in the minds of the rising generation a knowledge of and reverence for the spirit and patient, unswerving determination . . ." exemplified by the faithful officers as they pressed the cause against overwhelming odds, the Daughters of the Cincinnati conducted the quest for letters and documents from their forebears. While some of the writers and recipients are well-known names in American history, most of the material is by those courageous unheralded line officers who maintained the order and continuity of a fluctuating mercurial armed service. It is the inside story, the sharing of innermost thoughts, and the unveiling of raw emotions of the excerpts of these unpublished documents and very personal letters which grab the reader.

On the 19th of April in '75, the Battle of Lexington gave rise to the formation of the American Continental Army. William Greenleaf wrote that his house was "burnt by fier. I lost everey thing in the Seler . . . the troubels of a Sivel War are Grat."

From the war memories of Robert Beale the reader learns the details of the crossing of the Delaware on a bitter cold Christmas night. "As soon as the enemy surrendered there was a guard placed over them and they were marched to the river. The balance of our men fell into the utmost confusion, every man shifting for himself."

The efforts to keep men clothed and paid are illustrated in a letter from John Paul Schoot to George Washington saying, "This is to inform your Excelency that I applyed here for Money, Armes, and Plankits but can't get it without your Excelency is pleased to send me a Warrant. I have twenty-five men I am oblig'd to pay L1.1 pr:week for Each man which I think is too much. . . ."

Letters telling of attempts to escape prisons and return to the service, the confusion of changing commands, the lack of medical care and suffering of the wounded, and the danger presented by Loyalists and Indians lead the reader through to the final days ending with George Washington's address to the Continental Congress.

The original material is accompanied by portraits and the editor, Dennis P. Ryan has done a superb job in providing the continuity and needed explanations.

This is not a book one can't put down. On the contrary, it is a book one picks up when in a studious, quiet

mood. The original spelling, punctuation, and syntax require time and effort, but the reward is the warmth of awesome respect and burning patriotism.

BETTY LOU PAGEL

*The reviewer is coordinator of Reading and Language Arts for Laramie County School District Number One and is to be installed as Regent of the Wyoming Society of the National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution in April. She is president of the Wyoming Press Women*

*Iron Road to the West American Railroads in the 1850s* By John F. Stover. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.) Index. Illus. Maps. 266 pp. \$14.95.

This book could well be titled "the antebellum years for American railroads." It is a survey of railroad development in the decade prior to the Civil War when the iron roads advanced across the Nation to the edge of the western frontier.

The first regular railroad service in the United States commenced July 4, 1828, on the Baltimore and Ohio. From that date forward, the growth of the railroad industry had a profound effect on the economic development of the U. S. By 1850, the nation had 172 railroad companies with combined trackage of nearly 9,000 miles. But on the eve of the Civil War, railroad mileage had tripled to nearly 30,000 and every state in the union had access to rail transportation. Further, the railroad successfully challenged the turnpike, canal, and steamboat as a mover of goods and people.

In the antebellum years, the Old Northwest (Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin) and the West (California, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, and Oregon) together experienced the largest growth in track construction (10,000 miles) of any region in the Nation. Much of this development was stimulated by the issuance of land grants to railroad companies by the Federal and state governments. In all, 22 million acres were offered to rail entrepreneurs.

The Southern railroads also benefited from land grants in the 1850s and consequently mileage in the region increased by a total of 7,500. The Southern lines were less prosperous and generally inferior to the roads in the West, Northeast and Mid-Atlantic states in regard to construction, motive power, and rolling stock. In addition, the Southern rail system was not fully integrated with itself and was dependent on the North for equipment and iron rails, a situation which would affect the course of the Civil War. Although the New England and Mid-Atlantic states did not build as much trackage in the 1850s as the West and the South, its railroads were

better constructed, had larger rosters of motive power and rolling stock, and were in a position to establish strong lines of trade between the industrial East and the expanding West.

But, even by 1860, there were at least six different track gauges across the 31 states which ranged from the present standard of 4 feet 8½ inches to 5 feet 6 inches. To further complicate the process of interchanging goods and people between different railroads, no standard time was in existence.

True, the growth of rail miles in the 1850s was spectacular and the technological advances were noteworthy, but of more importance, the antebellum railroads established a new east-west trade axis across the Nation. Trade routes were previously aligned on a north-south posture in harmony with the shipping lanes established by the Ohio and Mississippi steamboats. The railroad development in the decade made it possible for manufacturers in the New England and Mid-Atlantic states to ship their wares to the growing West and the farmers could, in turn, ship their produce to the population centers of the East. This arrangement resulted in a strong economic and political alliance between the New England/Mid-Atlantic states and the Old Northwest. That alliance was instrumental in determining the final outcome of the Civil War.

The author addresses the development of American railroads in the 1850s on a regional basis: the New England and Mid-Atlantic states, the South, and the West. He also includes a chapter on the theory and practice of land grants and one on the development of the railroad physical plant and equipment. He supports his discussion with numerous statistical tables and maps.

Through the narrative and graphics, the reader can trace the genesis of latter day rail companies, such as the Pennsylvania, Illinois Central, Louisville Nashville. Professor Stover sprinkles in anecdotes of personalities from the era that liven up the text. The reader may find himself being overwhelmed at times with blocks of narrative that are packed with statistical comparisons. Admittedly, pictures and lithographs from the 1850-1860 decade are scarce, but a number of those the author selected have been used frequently in other railroad history works.

In all, this is an excellent book that not only covers the "nuts and bolts" development of the railroad in the 1850s, but also addresses the total economic and political effect of the railroad on a growing nation. It is highly recommended to any student of railroad and American history.

A. J. WOLFF

*The reviewer, a collector of railroad memorabilia and photographs, is head of the Research and Statistics Division, Wyoming Department of Labor and Statistics.*

*The Geysers of Yellowstone.* By T. Scott Bryan. (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1979). Index. Illus. Maps. 225 pp. \$15.00 cloth, \$6.95 paperback.

It is obvious that much time and effort went into the research and writing of *The Geysers of Yellowstone*. Bryan describes in detail more than 300 geysers in Yellowstone National Park.

Each chapter focuses on one of the nine geyser basins with subchapters featuring geyser groups within each basin. The main part of the book, however, is the description of individual geysers listed in the order in which they appear along Yellowstone trails. Included are details on duration, height, frequency and period of eruptions. Bryan describes to the reader the signs of a potential eruption. His inclusion of facts about the names of the geysers and how they were derived makes this book more interesting than the usual guidebook.

Chapters describing the mechanics of a geyser eruption as well as a chapter on a short history of Yellowstone and its geysers are included. Among the interesting information is an explanation of the relationship between water color and water temperature. Adequate maps throughout the book show the locations of each geyser within the Yellowstone area. The appendix contains short descriptions of other geyser fields in the world.

*The Geysers of Yellowstone* would make a good field guide for anyone interested in investigating the geysers in Yellowstone in some detail. By giving hints on how to spot signs of an imminent eruption and by listing geysers that are relatively inactive, it would be especially valuable for those who wish to see as many geyser eruptions as possible in an allotted amount of time.

This book is also for the curious—those who want to know how geysers work, why the water and sinter is the color it is, and about the history of Yellowstone and its geysers.

RODNEY H. DEBRUIN

*The reviewer is Staff Geologist with the Geological Survey of Wyoming in Laramie.*

*The Early Days in Jackson Hole.* By Virginia Huidekoper. (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1978). Illus. 131 pp. \$15.00 cloth, \$7.95 paperback.

The historical photograph is our window on the past, a graphic record of a place or its people. It is a record of a culture preserved much like ancient symbols burnt on a wall. To the naked eye it may seem to be just

an old photograph, but the inquiring mind deduces a wealth of information from close examination of the subject and its surroundings. It is indeed a yardstick on civilization.

Virginia Huidekoper has patiently assembled a photographic collection on the Teton area of Wyoming entitled *The Early Days in Jackson Hole*. According to the dust cover, Virginia Huidekoper . . . "founded the *Jackson Hole News*, a paper that emphasizes photographs of the country as well as news coverage." Virginia has since retired from the newspaper business and still resides in the valley. Through the generosity of many people, the photographs of early day photographers have been assembled into a pictorial record, a reference book on the Jackson Hole country. The photographers are: William Jackson, F. Jay Haynes, Benjamin Shefield, Steven Leek, George and Bert Schofield, James Harper Teppan, Harrison Crandall, William Balderson, J. E. Stimson and M. W. Trester. Their works are supplemented with other photographs from family collections.

To be more precise, *The Early Days In Jackson Hole* is an orderly collection of historical photographs depicting the area, the wildlife, the communities and, of course, nature — which was indeed a factor for those who lived in the valley year round. After examining the pictures several times you begin to feel the intimacy shared by the inhabitants of Jackson Hole and the valley that surrounds it. They are a close-knit group, a fraternity of sorts that exists because of the special qualities the residents of Jackson Hole share. It is an honor to be considered a "Jackson Holer."

Variety is the "spice" of this book. Although some of the photographs are fuzzy — soft in focus — they are all interesting, as each was selected for its content and beautifully composed and reproduced. There are also a number of extraordinarily sharp photographs whose clarity, definition and depth-of-field could only be accomplished through large negatives and a skilled craftsman/photographer who has an "eye" for the picture — definitely a quality of the artist. One photographic example, which has become my favorite, is entitled "Four Jacks And A Queen." This is a picture of four small boys squatted next to a small pool of water, all facing the camera with a variety of expressions. At the right background is a small girl looking disgruntled. This is photojournalism practised with an artistic touch in 1912.

The book goes from interesting to enjoyable because it can be read time and again with a new insight gained at each reading. Pictures that were glanced over the first time are examined in more depth with each reading. There are many photographs to catch your attention, hold your interest, win your admiration and tickle your funny bone.

I applaud and admire the efforts of Virginia Huidekoper. She has given us a glimpse of the majestic and rugged beauty of the Tetons as seen by the pioneers of Jackson Hole photography as well as a pictorial reference work on life in the valley. I, too, like the early photographers, would like to live in the valley and photograph the many faces and moods of its people and its surroundings.

Graig Marrs

*The reviewer, a photographer and cinematographer, lives and works in Cheyenne*

*West of Hell's Fringe: Crime, Criminals, and the Federal Peace Officer in Oklahoma Territory, 1889-1907.* By Glenn Shirley. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978). Index. Illus. Maps. 495 pp. \$14.95.

During the turbulent years before Oklahoma's statehood, numerous outlaws took advantage of the unsettled social and institutional environment in the new territory to pursue their criminal careers. These men crossed the border between Oklahoma and Indian Territories known as Hell's Fringe to rob and kill the new settlers, then sought refuge by fleeing into other sections of the area now called Oklahoma. The most effective antidote to this plague of lawlessness was the use of federal marshals whose authority and jurisdiction surpassed that of local officials.

This book describes the activities of criminals and peace officers in the fading days of the "Wild West." Shirley, author of numerous books and articles on Western history and himself experienced in law enforcement, relates the exploits of notorious criminals such as the Doolin and Dalton gangs as well as the diverse evildoings of lesser known but equally sinister men (and women). Thorough and well-deserved attention is given to the officers who persistently fought to stifle the escapades of the badmen.

The Western outlaw has been the source of many myths and legends. Most of these, perpetuated by popular literature and film, create lasting but distorted impressions of life as it must have been. As years pass it becomes more difficult to separate fact from fiction about the participants or their environment. This work represents a strenuous effort to clarify and document actual happenings. Shirley describes the characters as they have been perceived and as they were. He analyzes previous accounts and compares these with the results of his own extensive research, thereby illuminating and dissipating the mysteries surrounding personalities and events.

The story of good men and bad in the Oklahoma Territory is artfully told. The reader encounters a parade of robberies, murders, pursuits, and shootouts in

anecdotal accounts which are placed in context by biographical sketches and description of the social and political history of the region. The narrative bristles with excitement as it moves from the opening of the territory to the dying days of the last of the outlaws. Extensive quoting of primary sources reveals contemporary opinions and language as well as the journalistic flair of the era. The book is well organized and illustrated with abundant photographs of the living and the dead and the places they inhabited.

This examination of the struggle between criminals and law officers in one of the last frontiers will be welcomed by anyone interested in the history of law and order in the West.

MICHAEL EVERMAN

*The reviewer teaches history at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater*

*Women and Men on the Overland Trail.* By John Mack Faragher. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979). Index. Bibliog. Map. 281 pp. \$17.50.

If you pick up this book thinking it will be another romantic tale of life on a wagon train to Oregon, you are going to be disappointed. If, however, you are interested in an historical analysis of the roles men and women played in the 1840s and 1850s, how they interacted and how they perceived themselves and each other, I think you will enjoy it.

Faragher, an assistant professor of history at Mount Holyoke College, has written a scholarly, but also very readable, account of the structure of society and culture on the homesteads of midwestern America and how that structure stayed virtually intact during the migration of thousands of people to Oregon and California in the mid-19th century.

The author used 169 diaries, letters and recollections of family members who made the cross-country trek plus the diaries and recollections of 115 single men who traveled with or close to emigrating families, all of which he quotes frequently. From them he was able "to draw conclusions about family demography, party and train composition, and the occupations, geographic origins, and previous mobility of emigrants." He also noted daily life activities on the trail to study the division of labor.

On their farms, men did the heavier work, including clearing land, building, upkeep and maintenance of tools, implements, wagons and the land, care of large animals, and hunting. They also wielded the economic and political power, as the women had virtually no rights to property or suffrage.

Women were responsible for the garden and its produce, the henhouse, the dairy, making sausage and

curing ham, food preparation, making of cloth (until commercial cloth became available), sewing clothes, blankets and quilts, soap-making and washing, bearing and raising children, and nursing their family. They did this under conditions much more isolated than their husbands and fathers, who were free to travel to neighboring farms and villages.

From his analysis of tasks written about in diaries of the emigration, the author disputes the theory that women gained more equality and engaged in more of the duties usually relegated to men as they traveled west. According to him both men and women stayed within the strict boundaries of the roles they played on the homestead.

In looking at the cultural orientation of women and men, Faragher found that women wrote more often in the first person and were more likely to name other persons, record dates, comment at length on their surroundings and activities, express their feelings and make a point to write daily. Men's journal entries were usually terse, less frequent, used "we" and pertained mainly to the miles traveled and the availability of water and grass.

Also discussed in *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* are the roles children played and the importance of the family in the societal framework of the period. Faragher shows great sympathy for the plight of women, their place within society and the family, the restrictions placed upon them by their lack of political and legal power, the constant work expected of them, and their isolation from each other.

The author shows the depth of his research throughout the text and by the seventeen tables and the notes on his methods following it. His extensive notes, which well document his narrative, and a 28-page bibliography complete the book. For those interested in women's and family history and the history of migration over the Oregon, California and Mormon Trails in the mid-1800s, I think you will find the book interesting and enlightening reading.

PAULETTE J. WEISER

*The reviewer is archivist/historian in the Archives and Records Division, Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department.*

*Mountaineering in the Tetons: The Pioneer Period 1898-1940.* By Fritiof Fryxell. (Revised and edited by Phil D. Smith). (Jackson, Wyo.: Teton Bookshop, 1978). Index. Illus. Map. 180 pp.

*Mountaineering In The Tetons, 1898-1940*, written by Fritiof Fryxell and edited by Phil D. Smith, is a

chronicle of early mountaineering in the Tetons. The book systematically describes the ascents and attempted routes during the time period.

The descriptions are generalized rather than the step-by-step descriptions found in guides, with only an occasional use of technical climbing and geologic terms. The photographs used are very helpful in showing an overall view of the described peaks. However, because the routes described are not shown, and the orientation of the photos is sometimes unknown, it is difficult to correlate the routes described with the pictures.

The accuracy and validity of the information in the book is unquestionable. It is well documented throughout and obvious that the author used the most reputable sources available at the time.

The author says in the introduction, "This is a foretaste of what is to be and here it is perhaps profitable to review the past, placing on record such facts concerning the Teton peaks and their ascents as may prove of assistance to the even larger groups of mountaineers who will surely come." The "foretaste" and the past so capably presented will undoubtedly provide worthwhile information to anyone planning an adventure in the Tetons.

LAWRENCE CHRISTENSEN

*The reviewer is employed by Cheyenne Title and Abstract. His hobby is mountain climbing.*

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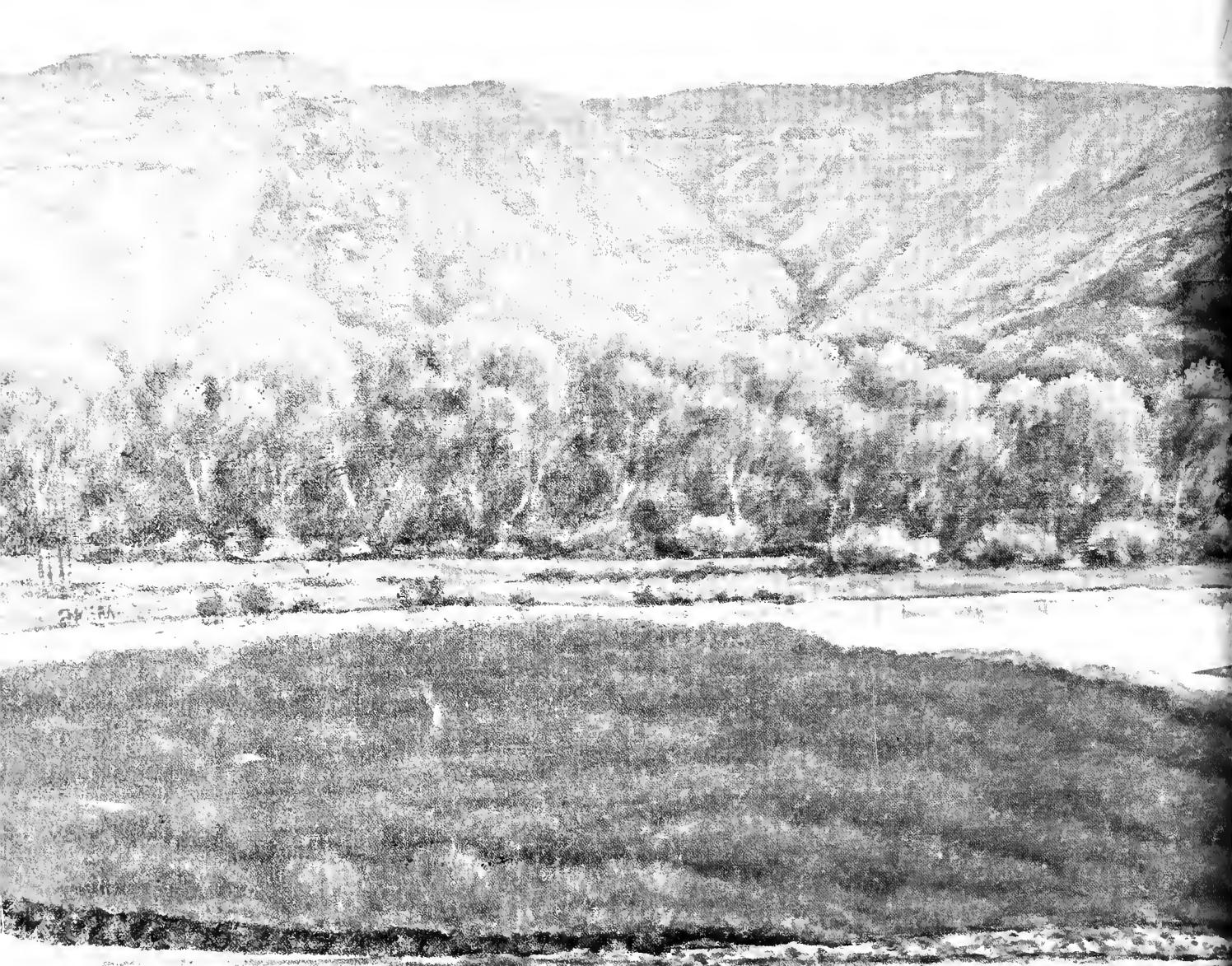
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